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Spokesman Rejects Charge of INF Violation

PM2507182991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 91 Union Edition p 5

[By V. Nadein, followed by unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent's question to USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, under general headline: "Query About Forgotten Missiles"]

[Text] Washington—The first to publish was the clamorous WASHINGTON TIMES, boasting of access to confidential information. It was the first to quote the text of a coded telegram which Secretary of State J. Baker sent to J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador in Moscow. In the telegram Baker allegedly accused the Soviet side without any diplomatic niceties of blatantly violating the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The well-known observers R. Evans and R. Novak then reacted to the event. Their clearly conservative leanings are common knowledge, which is why there is nothing surprising about their calling for people to distrust any Soviet government—including the current government, of course. But what is more important is that, for all their bias, Evans and Novak are serious people. And since they have written that the United States had been given information about missiles by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and President V. Havel of Czechoslovakia, it means that things are serious.

They could hardly be more serious. The accusation is being leveled against the Soviet Union that, following the conclusion of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, it not only failed to scrap all the missiles due to be destroyed, but secretly transferred 72 missiles, known in the West by the abbreviation SS-23 (and as OTR-23's in the USSR) to the Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, and GDR Armed Forces. And it was allegedly envisaged that, under exceptional circumstances, these missiles could be fitted with Soviet nuclear warheads.

All these scandalous articles have been actively supported by conservative politicians such as Republican Senator Jesse Helms. Incidentally, it is not at all clear whether they supported them or were supported by them. Helms was one of the few senators who voted against the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. Even now he actively opposes both the already signed CFE Treaty and any agreement on strategic arms.

There was one important detail which prompted this country's serious press to show restraint. In the indefatigable WASHINGTON TIMES articles, the sending date of Baker's dispatch was given as 13 July—that is, four days before the cordial meeting in London between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush. Moreover, it was announced at the meeting that the last point of disagreement on a strategic arms treaty had been overcome.

Bush predicted that the new agreement, which is scheduled to be signed in Moscow, would face a long and hard road toward ratification. But is this assurance of the President's connected with the telegram recently sent to Moscow by his secretary of state?

The doubts about the White House's position were partly dispelled last Tuesday by Presidential Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater. He said that "we are continuing to gather information and will be urging the Soviets to provide a full account on this matter" relating to the 72 SS-23's.

In the J. Baker telegram, whose existence an official State Department spokesman declined to confirm Tuesday, the Soviet Union is accused of providing inaccurate information which "contradicts other information available to the United States."

According to THE WASHINGTON POST report, the administration is pressuring the Bulgarian Government to destroy the SS-23's still held by that country's armed forces. This has already been done in Czechoslovakia and Germany, the newspaper claims.

Monitoring [proverka] of disarmament treaties has traditionally been a highly sensitive matter. Many specialists agree that creating a verification system that would provide a 100 percent guarantee of the punctilious observance of such agreements is practically impossible. Even after the most painstaking elaboration, there is still scope for what is simply called mutual trust.

Observers believe that the speediest checks into the reports about the 72 missiles will help both to ratify the CFE agreement and to implement the very first treaty to reduce nuclear missile arsenals. Now is not the time to be getting engaged in wrangling and morbidly suspicious recriminations. The speediest removal of all different interpretations and misunderstandings with the help of accurate and convincing information is primarily in the interests above all to the Soviet Union, which is asserting its place in the world community.

Soviet Side's Explanations

Answering an IZVESTIYA correspondent's question, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said:

"Another attempt has recently been made to stir up the question of OTR-23 missile systems belonging to Bulgaria, the CSFR, and the FRG in the context of the Soviet Union's observance of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

"As is well known, in 1985-1986 the Soviet Union, in accordance with intergovernmental agreements, supplied a certain number of these missile systems to the GDR, Bulgaria, and the CSFR. In response to the concern shown by the United States in this connection, we have already stated that these systems were supplied long before the signing of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, and that there were no and are no nuclear warheads for the missiles. These systems are owned by the aforesaid countries and sited

on their territory. Thus, they did not and do not fall under the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, and the Soviet Union has no obligations for them under the treaty.

"As for the Soviet Union's obligations under the treaty as regards its own OTR-23's, these have been fully carried out. All the systems of this type belonging to it, including nuclear warheads, were scrapped within the timetable and in accordance with the procedures stipulated by the treaty. The Soviet side has made major efforts to allay the U.S. side's concern over this issue and to remove any grounds for any misunderstanding. As a goodwill gesture we gave the U.S. side information about the number of missiles and launchers, about the dates of the signing of the agreements to deliver them, and about the period during which the OTR-23's were transferred to the GDR, Bulgaria, and the CSFR. Detailed explanations were also provided on other issues raised by the U.S. side."

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the explanations given by the Soviet side on the question of OTR-23 missile systems belonging to Bulgaria, the CSFR, and the FRG make it possible to completely allay any U.S. concern on this score, and it is high time that this matter was closed.

Revised Pentagon Targets in USSR Assessed

PM2507125791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 First Edition p 5

[Major M. Pogorelyy "Military-Political Commentary": "Dubious Compliment"]

[Text] The U.S. TIME magazine once calculated that, theoretically, a single Trident missile warhead from the current submarine arsenal would be sufficient to wipe the Kremlin from the face of the earth and destroy everything within a 10-km radius around it. In actual fact, the Pentagon is planning to bring 120 such warheads crashing down on Moscow, the magazine wrote, citing nuclear arms expert P. Zimmerman's description of these plans: "This is not a strategy, it is pathology."

The list of targets to be hit by nuclear strategic means—"the most closely guarded secret in the United States"—as the Americans refer to it, was first drawn up as long as 45 years ago. It underwent several changes in the past, reflecting the course of the battles on the "cold war" fronts. Our opponent is pushing us—let's give it to him, even if only on top-secret maps. One's own successes were accompanied by a good-humored reduction by several thousand of the targets in the USSR and East Europe to be subjected to nuclear hits in the plans.

And now the "cold war" has ended, according to politicians, diplomats, and ideologists. And the Pentagon? A few days ago it gallantly announced that democratized East Europe will live: Some 3,000 targets on its territory are being removed from the list of targets for "retaliatory strikes." The remaining 7,000 strategic missile addresses—those located on the territory of the Soviet Union—remain practically intact.

True, people are saying that the amended list of targets does contain certain changes compared with all the previous lists: Union republic communist party central committees and CPSU kray and oblast committees have been removed as a result of the party's "waning influence,"—apparently "in favor" of soviets which are ceasing to be formal bodies and of democratic, liberal and other parties and movements which are gathering strength.

The vague concept of "target" implies, in addition to purely military installations also all the USSR's cities, major industrial enterprises, state leadership organs and also..."105,000 prominent representatives of the Soviet military, political, and administrative elite."

At the same time the U.S. military department's stategists are planning to essentially totaly wipe out the Russian Federation against whom it is envisaged to use 5,000 warheads. Their explanation for these plans is that Russia is the backbone of the USSR, that the Union's economic might and the greater part of its population are concentrated here. There is no denying that this is a very peculiar "compliment" paid to the largest republic of the Soviet state. U.S. leaders have recognized Russia's achievements in the cause of democratization, and its commitment to the ideals of freedom and market economy concepts. They have recognized them and hastened to persuade themselves that in the event of war a powerful, destructive blow should be dealt to the strong republic. This must be to ensure that democratization does not go too far, and the ideals of freedom remain unrealized.

The meetings between the leaders of the USSR and the United States in Reykjavik, Malta, Moscow, and Washington, which have inaugurated a new epoch in Soviet-American relations and ensured the firm establishment of common sense in these relations have already become part of history. During these years the elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons was begun and has been completed, and conventional arms reduction has been initiated. In the next few days the long-awaited treaty on a considerable reduction of strategic offensive arsenals—by one third—will finally be signed.

Yet in Washington (and in the underground bunkers of the U.S. Air Force Strategic Air Command) they are still preparing for "nuclear retaliation," despite the fact that serious politicians, including U.S. politicians, admit that there no longer can be any cause for this. C. Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for example, believes: "We must reduce nuclear arms, and eliminate them completely as a means of maintaining peace as soon as possible. It is necessary to find new solutions to existing problems, solutions which will be based more on our reason and wisdom than on lethal weapons."

U.S. President G. Bush has promised to persuade USSR President M.S. Gorbachev when they meet that the Soviet military need not fear the American military. The latter have clearly hastened to make their presence felt, so that it is not forgotten, not just in the Kremlin, but also in the White House.

U.S. Military Experts Evaluating Forces, Plans

LD2207122791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Text] A group of U.S. military experts has visited Kiev military district to evaluate information about military forces and plans for the deployment of principal systems of weapons and materiel. The American experts are in our country in connection with the Vienna document on confidence and security-building measures in Europe, which was signed last year. As is well known, it was signed by 31 European states and also Canada, the United States and Turkey. The document came into effect on 1 July this year. In accordance with the document, each participating state may inspect the military sites of another state.

Satisfied With Ukraine Inspection

LD2407201391 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] The results of the visit by a group of U.S. military experts to Ukraine have been analyzed at the Kiev Military District. The U.S. experts were estimating information on the military forces and (?the plans) of deploying the main armament systems and hardware. Inspection was carried out in compliance with the Vienna document on measures of trust and security signed last year by 31 European countries and also Canada, the United States, and Turkey. According to the Vienna document, every country participant can inspect military objects of other states. The U.S. experts were satisfied with the results of the inspection.

Gorbachev Interview on G-7 Meetings Published

CM2207131591 Moscow Pravda in Russian 20 Jul 91, Second Edition, pp 1,5

[TASS report: "Interview with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] London, 19 Jul—At the end of his visit to Britain, USSR President M. S. Gorbachev gave an interview to Soviet Television commentator Valentin Zorin and Jon Snow, commentator of Britain's ITN television company. We present for your attention an interview given by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev:

Moderator: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I want to thank you for making time in such a touch schedule to talk with my British colleague and me. In keeping with the rules of hospitality, I will give Jon Snow the right to ask the first question.

Question: Mikhail Sergeyevich, Mrs. Thatcher once said that you are a man one can do business with. Now Mrs. Thatcher has retired. You are still Soviet leader. Our prime minister is John Major. Do they still do business with you and is it going well? How does this affect relations?

Answer: You know, these days have made me even more certain that we will be able to cooperate well and fruitfully with the new prime minister of Great Britain. I hope that this will be manifested not only in the dialogue that we are conducting within the framework of Soviet-British dialogue and cooperation, but also in connection with the new situation that has arisen following the meeting with the Group of Seven. I had lengthy talks, more than once, with your prime minister here yesterday. We agreed here to work actively. Thus, the opportunity is opening up for us to continue what has already been begun in our relations and, I believe, to make them even deeper and to cooperate effectively. I view cooperation with the present prime minister with optimism.

Question: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I want to return to those difficult days. Mr. Major is not altogether inclined toward emotional overstatements but, nonetheless, he called the meetings that have taken place here historic. Is this exaggeration? How do you evaluate the significance of the meetings in London?

Answer: We frequently used the word historic in the past. In a number of cases it was inappropriate. Probably Soviet people now regard this word with a certain degree of suspicion. In this case I would agree with Mr. Major. What has taken place is a rather promising start. If it is continued and developed—and I am confident that this will, indeed, be the case, because political will has appeared on the part of the leaders of major states to interact, taking account of what they already have, on the basis of the positive things attained over the recent years in the development of international relations and in cooperation—it will now be possible to go even further and to make use of the opportunities opened up by the emergence from the cold war and the entry into a new stage of development of world politics.

I think that everybody was actually contemplating and expecting the results of this meeting with a great deal of anxiety, because everyone felt responsible for making what is probably one of the most important political decisions. Everything else follows from this. From this point of view, I think this meeting met the expectations and opened up a new stage. Now it remains to build up cooperation on the basis of these approaches. We have mechanisms that we need here. Something has been decided by the seven, with my participation as well, in this respect. Mechanisms will be put into action. This is how I assess it. Together with Mr. Major, I would call this event an historic one.

Question: I would like to return to a very important point—to your decision to sign the START treaty, the treaty on strategic offensive arms, within the coming days. I was in Reykjavik, when the meeting went on longer and longer and we were waiting, certain that you had managed to persuade President Reagan that we could realize the dream of a world free of nuclear weapons. Do you still hope to achieve that?

Answer: First of all, I am glad to see here a participant of that meeting, which was a unique and dramatic meeting. At first, some people perceived it as a breakdown, but it turned out that it was a breakthrough and not a breakdown. Without Reykjavik, today's situation in which we have reached the signing of this very important document, also an historic one, would not have come about. I am compelled to use this word here again. But how can one help using this word when we talk about such a great reduction of nuclear potential, through which we are, so to speak, further removed from that nuclear threat, and which creates confidence that we are capable of the most major deeds. This is no less important than nuclear arms reduction.

I think that we must move even further along the road of building a nuclear-free world. In connection with this, I confirm the concept I put forward in 1986. Then, too, it did not meet with an identical response everywhere. First, it was called an illusion, and then all of a sudden we arrived at the elimination of a whole class of missiles. By this I mean intermediate- and short-range missiles. We opened up an active negotiating process for strategic offensive weapons and came to this result.

At that point what seemed to be utopia I think has now been confirmed: This was a considered plan. We will adhere to the principled course we proposed then in my statement, because it is not only my point of view, my statement, but it reflects the stance of the Soviet leadership.

Question: What is to be done with countries like Iraq, which are covertly developing nuclear weapons? How, in

your opinion, could you, the Americans, and we conclude some kind of nuclear pact to protect the world from the threat from people like the Iraqi leadership?

Answer: This sphere is so important, it is a critical point in our common security and a serious answer must be given here. First, if we go—and we will go—further, then not only must the United States join in but other members of the nuclear club must join in.

On the other hand, we must indeed concern ourselves with going back and comprehending the whole problem of what should be done so that this nuclear club does not expand. Basically, the technical groundwork in many countries is such that they can possess nuclear weapons. But if we and the world have moved along the path of nuclear disarmament, then one can hardly approve of such intentions, and everything has to be done within the framework of the United Nations and other negotiating mechanisms and processes so as to remove this concern and set up the necessary political barriers, monitoring [kontrolnyye] barriers, in the way of the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Question: On the eve of the London conference there was a lot of speculation saying that the Soviet Union would be coming here for credits and loans. Everything was concentrated around this. Meanwhile, you have frequently stressed that, first of all, we are talking about the integration of our huge country's economy in world economic ties, and about a pulling down of the Berlin wall, not in the sphere of politics, but in the economic sphere. Did you succeed, if not in pulling down, then at least in breaching, such a wall?

Answer: I think this is the most important thing if we are to talk about the political results of this meeting. After all, I already said in Moscow that it is not a meeting of finance ministers. Generally, I regard credits and finances as normal things. This is real life, and credits and finances are needed. This is all natural. In this particular case, the task is very different. We are talking about the fact that the Soviet Union has made its choice in favor of being organically included into international economic relations. In order to do so, it has to undergo very drastic changes so that it is able to accept the rules of the game and so that it is possible to combine the economies. We made our choice. We are taking the road of reforms toward a market economy. This is first. Western countries should change and approaches on which they were building their relations with us in the economic sphere should change. After all, a lot of things that form the foundation of these existing relations were formed during the years of the cold war and the arms race, and that is why a lot of things are accumulated on the way, under the guise of not strengthening the Soviet Union and not increasing its military might. The sort of obstacles were erected which, on the whole, negatively affected the whole sphere of cooperation. That is why, I would say, each side must try to accommodate the other. Now there are a couple of major projects that are ready. They were drawn up by our business people and those of Western countries. Moreover, I gave my colleagues an illustration of that. In fact there are projects ready that representatives of the business world from all countries are participating in. You know, if there is one element that falls under the Cocom list of restrictions, then the whole project falls through. As a rule, such projects cost thousands of millions. This is abnormal.

Moreover, in order to prove that we are opening up to the world economy, that we feel like cooperating, and that we think about a peaceful future for everybody and about universal security, we propose cooperation in the defense sector. This is a very powerful argument in support of our intentions. Understanding has arisen. From this understanding it emerges that we must act on our own part by moving toward each other and we must rely on moving toward meeting each other halfway. Therefore, the issue of the Soviet Union being included in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and other economic organizations on one basis or another has been raised. This process was examined within the context of implementing such an agreement, such an understanding.

Question: The breakthrough in the political sphere, the new way of thinking, was achieved several years ago. A new economic breakthrough is taking place before our eyes. How can such a gap in time be explained? Is it unavoidable or is it some sort of error?

Answer: You see, only because of impatience—when life puts pressure on them—do people want everything to change quickly. You go to bed, sleep well, and wake up in the morning to find that everything has changed. This does not happen in life, in politics, or in economics, particularly when we are talking about things on such a vast scale. Therefore, everything should come to maturity and I think that without what we have been through within the framework of the new approaches and the new way of thinking, without the sphere of cooperation and the trust that has arisen and that has led to unprecedented political dialogue, then this stage would also not have come into being.

If we do not really arrive at a new quality of cooperation in the economic sphere, then this will have repercussions for the results that can be achieved by political dialogue. All of this is very much tied together. Therefore, it would be a serious trivialization to reduce everything to the Soviet Union having been nudged along by some short-term factors.

I have told my colleagues: Tell me which country has not gone through a stage like this? Every country—some of them on more than one occasion—has been through such difficult stages. Countries have emerged from them, have gathered strength, and have moved on. This is what will happen to the Soviet Union. Yes, things in our country are difficult and complex and the processes ac unfolding with difficulty, but today the issue is the broad

prospects, the broad scope of affairs, and the things that we all need to preserve and dignify this civilization in the interests of all peoples.

Question: Mikhail Sergeyevich, even while you have been out of the Soviet Union, conservatives such as Colonel Alksnis have been calling for your resignation and making attacks on you. What presents the greater threat for your efforts toward economic perestroyka: the right wing or the radicals?

Answer: First, in every country, especially where there are opposition parties, you will hear calls for the resignation of this or that government. The statements by People's Deputy Colonel Alksnis therefore testify to the fact that the democratic process is continuing and is being maintained in the Soviet Union; pluralism of opinions, political pluralism, is being formed. Democracy, though, does require a certain culture and responsibility on the part of people. This is very much lacking. The phenomenon of people like Comrade Alksnis on the political horizon is also evidence of the fact that we have still to master how we should live and act in the context of democracy. For several years we have been moving the process of perestroyka through reforms, adopting political decisions and adopting various laws. But a group of pretty reliable experts who were in the Soviet Union under our agreement with President Bush recently travelled around the country and got a big surprise. The grounds for the surprise were this: a year ago when they travelled around the country, passions were boiling in the major centers and in Moscow, but about 200 or 300 kilometers away, tens of thousands of kilometers, there was quiet everywhere—people were carrying on with their lives. Now the society has been set in motion. I would say that what started from the top now has support and powerful backing from people in society. People are for changes, under certain conditions, of course, so that these will turn into improvements in life. This is the most important thing today. Therefore, this trend in support of continuing and even radicalizing the changes embraces all healthy forces on the left, on the right, and in the center. I exclude both left-wing and right-wing adventurists from this process. They are not for serious politics. They must not be admitted to power. As for all the rest, that is alright, that is the diversity of opinions that allows us to see our policies in the very process of implementation, to see the strong and weak sides, and to introduce amendments and to advance that process.

Question: As a result of perestroyka, democratically elected, non-communist presidents have appeared in several republics. In this connection, can you forsee a situation in which the President of the Soviet Union will be a non-communist? Could you become that person?

Answer: Yes, you are right. Non-communists have been elected in some places. Most often these are former communists, so something remains in them from their past education. We will see who is in what party later. It is not a matter of that, though. It is a matter of what we created in the framework of democracy and that we have come to free elections—that is the guarantee that each time, from election to election, society will see all the candidates better and selection will be better and more thorough. That will create the guarantee that at all levels, from the rayon to the highest, Union level, there will be people who have shown their worth, who have tested themselves, and who people trust. But reform should only be carried out provided you enjoy trust and support. It is another question of which party will be represented. There are many parties already. Elections are taking place under a multiparty system. Let these parties compete with their programs and let them nominate their candidates and the winner will receive support—he will head the reforms in the future. It is very important to see here that this is the most important thing. But within the framework of political pluralism, others will also make a contribution to the political process.

Question: The important decisions that you and your colleagues adopted here will not begin to yield results immediately. Some time is needed. But, taking account of the present state of affairs in our country, we are in need also of urgent measures. How do things stand as far as these go?

Answer: Well, in the first place, it must be said that before this meeting we were cooperating with many countries. Many of them are active, are showing solidarity with the matters that we are deciding within the framework of perestroyka—and not just in words, as they are granting credits, which is making it easier to solve the current problems. But on the whole, you know that I will begin by saying that it is wrong to think that credits will save us. The main work, the main burden of responsibility lies upon us, upon Soviet society. But think—a gross national product of 2 trillion rubles, 2 trillion rubles. The press has been writing about how much will be allocated and whether 10, 15, 20, or 30 trillion a year will be allocated and whether they will agree to allocate $10-$15, $20 or $30 billion a year. Now compare. $10 or $20 billion and $2 trillion—GNP. Everything will fall into place at once.

So, we need perestroyka. We must implement it and resolve all the problems that are connected with it. But that process will be easier, more successful, and quicker—and this has already been proven in the EC, other regional associations, and in North America—where the conclusion was drawn on closer coordination of activity. These are processes of cooperation and interaction—cooperation like that which accelerates any society. Therefore, both we and our partners gain when we cooperate. That is the second thesis.

Finally, the third. Of course, now that we have entered the phase of the most decisive reforms, of the transition to new forms of life, there are such critical points where our success will be achieved all the more quickly if we cooperate with our partners. There are such points here and they are in the interests of those who intend to

develop economic cooperation broadly with us. The convertibility of the ruble is an example. It is very necessary for internal economic processes as everybody in our country is looking to find these dollars to resolve a problem, even a small one, that is preventing him from developing his business—then a convertible ruble removes that problem and makes it possible to buy equipment where necessary, to to strike up cooperation, and to resolve matters, to move more quickly. Likewise, the convertible ruble opens up possibilities for quite a different situation to develop for cooperation with Western firms.

Therefore, one asks: When are we going to tackle this problem? In this case, perhaps it will be appropriate to think how we can make this transition less painful through cooperation. This is a very large step. There are also other problems. Here, in deciding such concrete questions, we naturally count on cooperation. I have been talking about this. We were not talking about figures, but the approaches. Another example is the problem of forming the market. Therefore, we need the commodity intervention of products as a form commonly accepted in the world, which could help us now by turning our industry around and gearing it more and more toward producing consumer goods as well as using the means of those partners with whom we cooperate and improve the situation.

Question: In your Nobel lecture in Oslo you said that in April 1985 you did not forsee the colossal problems that you would encounter. If you could have an opportunity to start again, would you want to do something different?

Answer: Well, I think that if I had to start this process again I would still start it, without doubt. I am convinced that this was needed; moreover, this had to be started 10 to 20 years ago, if not even earlier. But this is already too large a topic. Regarding the ways of doing this, I want to say this: We will keep the main elements of such a concept. There were a lot of debates about what we should be starting with, the economy or politics, with the economic reform or political. We discussed at what point and how we should be tackling the problems related to the development of the federation, its renewal. We could carry on arguing. Maybe somewhere a certain synchronization in decisions adopted by us did not take place—somewhere we were late, and somewhere we hastened without thinking everything through, having relinquished the old forms and structures without creating the new ones yet. This caused some damage. Therefore, tactical corrections should be introduced, but the main elements of this policy, this concept of perestroyka, should be preserved. All this is needed by society. I am even more convinced now on the basis of my knowledge. Historically, the time has not been lost, although we should have started all this earlier.

Question: Some of the ideas presented by you in London may be implemented only after some time and their results will be felt later. That goes for other most important political steps by you including in our country. Figuratively speaking, you are doing the sowing, but perhaps another will have to do the reaping? Doesn't that ever bother you?

Answer: No, it does not bother me. For instance, I am pleased with what I did in Stavropol kray. I laid the basis for a systematic approach in thinking about the development of the economy, of cities and villages, of culture, of resort tourism, and more. Now that the kray is living a full-blooded life, although I won't say problems free. If there are no problems, society will come to a halt and will perish. There will be problems if there is movement. But I see that there are some results. Therefore, I think that you are right.

I spoke to the writer Leonov. He was 90 years old and I was in his apartment. I congratulated him. We held a very interesting conversation. I was struck, first of all, by how perceptive he was, by his wisdom. I was struck by the fact that he was up on all our affairs. He expressed the thought that the most serious problem and difficulty lies in the fact that what you do now shapes the life that will come and that our state will live, on the whole in 100 or 150 years. But when all of that is being done today and these generations have to do all of that, of course, it is not easy for them. The current problems weigh one down. Well, the whole difficlty of the problem lies, of course, in that natural contradiction, but not because I am a person who professes that old slogan: In the name of a radiant future. No. On the contrary, I think that we simply could no longer avoid doing what we are doing today. We have to act to avoid falling by the roadside of the progress and development of the whole of civilization. Therefore, we must act, but act in such a way that there are fruits in the near future, too. Fruits have been yielded in the sphere of the political process, democracy, and openness, and the fact that one can take deep breaths of oxygen now, so to speak. But we need, alongside this, progress in the sphere of the economy which will result in a boon for people, and in the improvement of their living conditions. There are possibilities for attaining the first results in the near future, and for embarking on a path for gaining, different dynamics in order to resolve these vital problems in the life of our people. Therefore, in the future, the harvest probably will be richer, but now we are counting on what we are doing to yield people what they desire.

Comparison of Gorbachev-Major Meeting

PM1907092291

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 July 1991 carries in its Second Edition on page 5 a TASS report on Gorbachev's 18 July meeting with British Prime Minister John Major in London. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, carried under the general heading "Soviet-British Talks," with the Moscow TASS English version reveals the following variation: First column, fourth paragraph, sole sentence reads: At this stage of the dialogue with the USSR, Major acts not only as the prime minister of his

country, but also as the coordinator in the implementation of the G-7 conclusions, including with regard to the Soviet Union. (supplying indistinct passage)

Comparison of Bessmertnykh on G-7 Meeting

PM2107193991

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 20 July 1991 carries in its Union Edition on page 5 an interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh by an unnamed TASS special correspondent. Comparison of the IZVESTIYA item, entitled "Enormous Amount of Work Ahead. A. Bessmertnykh's Interview With TASS Correspondent," with the translation of the Moscow TASS Russian version reveals the following variations:

Second column, paragraph two, first sentence reads: "The minister stressed that representatives of the seven countries showed a certain interest in specific programs that were outlined by the USSR president. This includes, in particular, cooperation in the in the fields of power engineering, transport, environmental production, storage and distribution of food, and other areas." (adding "in particular")

Second column, paragraph three, sole sentence reads: "According to Bessmertnykh, Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama directly stated that his country has a great interest in developing cooperation in the fields of power engineering, the gas and oil industry, and construction and exploitation of oil refineries." (providing variant wording)

Comparison of Gorbachev-Andreotti Meeting

PM1907091691

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 July 1991 carries in its Second Edition on pages 1 and 5 a TASS report on Gorbachev's 18 July meeting with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti in London. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, carried under the general heading "M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings in London," with the Moscow TASS English version reveals the following variation:

Column two, last paragraph, sole sentence, reads: "The conversation, held in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Gianni de Michelis, U. Vattani, and P. Mastrobuoni on the Italian side; and on the Soviet side by A. Bessmertnykh, Ye. Primakov, A. Chernyayev, V. Medvedev, and V. Zagladin." (supplying names of officials)

Ignatenko Cited on Plenum, Near East

PM2607102591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1

[By G. Alimov: "Looking Ahead to the Meeting in Moscow"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

What Does the CPSU Central Committee Plenum Have in Store?

Answering this question, V. Ignatenko said that in accordance with a CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision, the plenum will consider the draft new party Program and the organization of the discussion of it among CPSU members. But the plenum is an independent structure, the president's official spokesman said, so, naturally, one cannot rule out the possibility of other matters cropping up.

Moscow's Opinion on Baker's Trip to the Near East

Asked by correspondents to comment on the results of the U.S. secretary of state's tour of Near East countries, V. Ignatenko reminded them of the accords reached during USSR Foreign Minister A. Bessmertnykh's meeting with J. Baker in Kislovodsk 25 April. It was then, as is known, that the blueprint for a Near East peace conference was agreed upon. Its main elements are as follows: the USSR and United States as cochairmen; talks between Israel, the Arab states, and the Palestinians on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338; and UN and West European conference participation in the conference in an appropriate form.

The media also reported the other day that the Arab participants in the conflict are in agreement with the Soviet-American ideas concerning the format and structure of the peace conference. It is now up to Israel. The Soviet Union, V. Ignatenko said, welcomes the willingness expressed by a number of Arab countries, as an exchange of confidence-building measures, to lift the boycott on Israel on the understanding that "settlement activities on the occupied Arab lands will be frozen." [passage omitted]

Churkin Comments on Gorbachev-Bush Meeting

OW2607030391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" Feature: "On the Eve of a Meeting Between M. Gorbachev and G. Bush in Moscow"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]

An Issue the Soviet Side Would Like To Be Closed.

Has the treaty on medium and shorter-range missiles (INF) been observed? There are people who wish to raise this question in connection with the OTR-23 missiles (known in the West as SS-23) belonging to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Germany. In this connection Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Department, said at a briefing on July 24 that in 1985- 86 the Soviet Union, in accordance with intergovernmental agreements, supplied the GDR, Bulgaria and Czechoslavakia with a certain number of these missiles.

In answer to concern expressed by the U.S. in this connection we have repeatedly stated that the missiles in

question were delivered long before the INF treaty was signed. As a matter of fact, nuclear warheads for them have never been delivered.

As the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said, these missiles are property of the countries in question, located on their soil. Therefore they are not covered by the INF treaty, and the Soviet Union has no obligations in regard to these missiles under the treaty.

Nevertheless if the issue of observing the INF treaty by the Soviet Union is raised after all, the Soviet side has honoured all its commitments as regards OTR-23 missiles. It eliminated all missiles of this type that belonged to it, and nuclear warheads to them, in accordance with the times and procedures stipulated by the treaty.

The Soviet side exerted efforts with a view to easing the U.S.'s concern in regard to this issue and liquidating grounds for misunderstandings. As an expression of goodwill it informed the U.S. of the number of missiles and their launching installations, as well as of the dates when the agreements were signed with the GDR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia and when the deliveries and transfers of the missiles took place. The Soviet side believes that it's high time to close the question of missles that came to be located in those countries.

What Can Be on the Agenda of the Upcoming Summit

The Soviet Foreign Ministry believes that participants in the Soviet-American summit in Moscow scheduled for July 30-31 will have a detailed conversation about the future of bilateral relations in the qualitatively new conditions emerging today. The signing of such a fundamental and historic document as a treaty on strategic offensive weapons would be conducive to the development of these conditions. Having given this preliminary assessment, chief of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department Vitaliy Churkin said that thanks to the useful work done by the USSR and the U.S. in terms of settling regional conflicts the relevant problems will evidently be discussed at the summit too.

Participants in the summit will sign a number of purely bilateral agreements to define which is hard so far since work on some of them is still going on [sentence as received]. As V. Churkin said, the Gorbachev-Bush talks "will considerably expand the area of bilateral cooperation" in economic, humanitarian and other directions.

Foreign Ministry Officials Deny Sale of Uranium

OW2607050791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Despite the allegations of some news media, in Mozambique there is no Soviet uranium sold at the black market. Some publications claimed that it was stolen from a Soviet ship in the port of Maputo where it was sold in odd packing. As Soviet Foreign Ministry officials said, these allegations are absolute lies.

They are lies primarily because the very possibility that a Soviet ship with uranium on board can emerge in a Mozambican port is ruled out. Under signed contracts and established practice the Soviet Union exports uranium by sea only to West European countries. As for other regions of the world, such deliveries are carried out only by plane.

Secondly, only standard containers which answer to the corresponding international norms are used for transporting this kind of material. Considering all this, the emergence of Soviet uranium at the black market in Mozambique is out of the question.

Zorin Views Reform, Ties With West

AU2307141691 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Jul 91 p 9

[Interview with Valentin Zorin, chief commentator at Moscow Television, by Pal Bokor in London; date not given: "Gorbachev Needs To Gain Time"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Professor Valentin Zorin is department head at the Institute of American Studies in Moscow. For decades, he has been following the progress of Soviet-U.S. relations with interest and, being one of the "great survivors," he is one of the foreign affairs advisers of the Gorbachev leadership. Our correspondent interviewed him in London, on the occasion of the G-7 summit and Gorbachev's visit.

[Bokor] Valentin Sergeyevich, the most astonishing announcement of the big diplomatic week in London was a statement by Yevgeniy Primakov, namely that the Soviet Union is threatened by a social explosion if Gorbachev returns to Moscow empty-handed. How should we understand this?

[Zorin] It is hard for me to explain Primakov's words in spite of our 40 years of friendship. Let me discuss my own opinion on this issue. In my view, it would be a mistake to do the same things that our colleagues do here. It would be a mistake to simplify Gorbachev's trip to London as a question of loans and investments. I am not trying to avoid the question on the social situation, but let me say that in my opinion, Gorbachev's ideas are much broader in scope. The current events are not the only thing he is interested in, and he is not interested in them to such an extent; he is more interested in the way East-West relations will progress in the near and the not so near future. The aim is to bring down another Berlin Wall, this time in the area of the economy, not in the area of politics. The question is how the enormous potential of a giant country could be integrated in the world economy. In this sense, we must even disregard the catastrophic situation of the Soviet economy. The natural, human, and geographical resources I am talking

about exist independently of the current situation. What happened was that we were building socialism for more than 70 years in a single and isolated country. It is blatantly obvious that this was an idiotic idea for which we have to pay a high price now. The West will also have to pay in the sense that the world economy will have to readmit the economies of the Soviet Union and East Europe. In this sense, our strategic aim is to seriously gain access to the world economy. It is possible that Primakov thought that our domestic situation is so tense at the moment that there is no point even in talking about the future unless we find an instant solution. There are forces that do no allow for possibilities or time. The time factor is the most important thing at the moment. Gorbachev has no time. We have exhausted all our reserves of time, trust, and everything else.

[Bokor] What is there to do then?

[Zorin] Economic survival is the prerequisite for everything, as is the avoidance of social shocks. However, we have such a situation that, in spite of the proverbial patience of the Russian people, it is doubtful whether we can avoid social shocks without some kind of external aid that makes it possible for us to feed the people for at least another year. We must also not forget that there are some rather influential forces in our country trying to exploit this dissatisfaction. Therefore, the question of aid has great significance, although in my opinion, this aid should not materialize in loans and credits. That would not be profitable for the West or for us because of the economic situation in the Soviet Union. We would simply cut these loans into pieces. We might have been able to solve our grain problem long ago if we had not been buying wheat for years. Therefore, I think the best method of help is investment in those sectors where the quickest returns can be expected, for example, energy production or oil. Of course, we would also need help that would facilitate Gorbachev's survival, the survival of the coming winter and the following hard months. I do not think Primakov made his statement out of strategic considerations, but because he was thinking in the short term.

[Bokor] Gorbachev sent a complicated and far-reaching program to London on the development of Soviet domestic economic relations. According to all indications, nobody knows the details of this program apart from the leading Western personalities who have been sent a copy.

[Zorin] This program is a version of the concept that sets out the strategic aims of the Soviet economy, and which has met with a lot of criticism at home from both the left and the right. Still, we had to bring something here that is credible for the West and implementation is something the West is willing to assist with. Gorbachev can begin to implement such a program. He cannot complete it because that would require 10 to 15 years, and not 500 days as some people imagine. This is exactly the reason Gorbachev is a tragic character. He sows the seeds today that others will harvest in 10 to 15 years time. However, since he cannot return from London empty-handed in the current situation, and he cannot stand empty-handed in front of the party plenum on 25 July, he has to produce realistic results.

[Bokor] It appears that the program that was sent to London masked tactical considerations.

[Zorin] No, it did not. I think that Gorbachev's strategy was in it, principles that are attractive enough for the negotiating partners to give him assistance in order to overcome the time pressure. Gorbachev is pressed for time, and he has to gain some time to envelope the 41st move and suspend the game. [idoet Kell nyernie a 41. lepes boritekolasahoz, hogy a partit fel lehessen fueggeszteni, reference to international chess rules]

[Bokor] According to some of the English newspapers, the Gorbachev-Bush meeting in London and the Moscow summit of the superpowers scheduled for the end of July are going to be the "last tango" of the superpowers. According to some people, Soviet-U.S. relations will not have as much significance in international relations as before, due to Germany's increased role.

[Zorin] I do not agree with this at all. It is correct to bring up the question in the sense that the time of a bipolar world is over; the time when two superpowers directed the world has passed, and this era will never return. Germany and the united Europe also play a completely new role in the world. I do not agree with those analysts who want to prematurely bury not only the Soviet Union, but also the United States. There is no doubt that the United States will preserve its international role in the coming decade. If that is so, then it is not sensible for either the United States or the Soviet Union to degrade the Soviet-U.S. relations, either. We must not forget that the Soviet Union continues to have a huge arsenal of missiles aimed at the United States. That is, only the Soviet Union can threaten the existence of the United States. The opposite is also true. This alone is a warning, because it draws attention to the importance of missile disarmament, and it has been proven that Gorbachev and Bush are close enough on this issue to resolve it. We must also not forget that Gorbachev has a rather difficult situation at home, and Bush is facing an election campaign, therefore, Soviet-U.S. relations will have priority in Soviet politics. Beside this, European politics have a great emphasis on the Soviet Union, especially Soviet-German relations. Apart from this, I also predict a great future for Soviet-Japanese relations, providing that the Japanese take steps toward us and cease to stand on past ground with both feet.

[Bokor] In a way, you are speaking as if nothing has happened in the Soviet Union. In my view, the future of Soviet foreign policy is dependent on the domestic situation in many respects. What expectations do you have for the Soviet Union after signing the Union treaty?

[Zorin] I would like to begin my answer to this very complicated question by saying that the role of the

Soviet Union today is not the same as even a few years ago. This is the actual situation; this is not a question of the future but an established fact. Our position will obviously continue to deteriorate if things do not go well at home. Do not forget though, that the Russian state will not disappear from the world map. There may be setbacks and failures, Gorbachev's departure might result in a regression—as for me, I put all my money on Gorbachev, but I know that anything can happen—Russia will still not disappear from the map. We have to try to view this situation from a certain historical distance and understand that, to a lesser or greater extent, this country will continue to be a factor in world politics.

[Bokor] Let us return to London. Apart from the Soviet Union, others are also lining up here to obtain the goodwill and the money of the West, including East Europe, the former allies of the Soviet Union. In Hungary, this is perceived as a conflict. What is Moscow's view on this?

[Zorin] I have to confine myself to my own opinion again. In my view, this conflict is being blown out of proportion to a certain extent. We must be realists. Hungary is unable to reorient its economy toward the West in a matter of days. This is a lengthy process that will progress. However, the situation today is that it is not worth our while to line up as competitors for U.S. aid. The economic relations of the past cannot revive and we must not regenerate them, either. It would not be good either for you or for us. Considering today's economic realities, we should coordinate our efforts instead of competing against each other. I think that we have made some mistakes. In my view, it was a mistake to convert to U.S. dollar accounting. It was unfortunate that we gave up bartering and the clearing system. We should have normalized our relations and ensured that neither side can exploit the other or make use of the weakness of the other. However, who is going to gain from the integration of the West and our disintegration? Nobody.

[Bokor] There will be a Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow in late July. It was announced in London that an agreement had finally been reached on the most important issue, and the signing of the START agreement has become possible, an agreement that was drawn out for nine years. What other topics remain to be discussed by the Soviet Union and the United States?

[Zorin] We have reached a landmark. We can complete what we started in Geneva, Reykjavik, and Malta. If the agreement on disarming 50 percent of strategic weapons is signed at the end of July, this fact can be looked at from two angles, namely that the the cup is either half full or half empty. If you like, the weapons remaining in the arsenal of the two countries are more than enough to totally destroy each other. That means that the completion of one period also constitutes the opening of another period. This is a problem for both the Soviet Union and the United States. Why do you think Japan and Germany represent such serious competition for the United States on the world market? Because these two countries need not use a considerable proportion of their gross national product for military purposes. This is what the United States and the Soviet Union are still doing even today. It is a handicap for the Americans that they cannot afford any longer. This is in the mutual interest of both the Soviet Union and the United States and makes it necessary for further Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

Japanese Minister on IMF Status of USSR

PM2607121791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Assistance to the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Assistance to the Soviet Union in restructuring its economy will be the main topic of discussion at the annual session of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to be held in mid-October in Bangkok. This was stated by Ryutaro Hashimoto, Japanese minister of finance. Touching on the problem of admitting the USSR to this leading financial organization, the Japanese minister emphasized that a "precisely-worded resolution on granting the USSR the status of special associated member" will be adopted at the IMF session, as agreed by the leaders of the G-7 in London. This status will enable the Soviet Union to receive only technical assistance from the IMF—targeted economic feasibility studies, for example.

International Conference of 'Sexual Minorities'

OW2507075591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An international conference of sexual minorities opened in Leningrad on Wednesday. It was organized by an international center for gay and lesbian rights from San Francisco and several Soviet associations of sexual minorities.

A member of the organizing committee Julie Dorf told IF [INTERFAX]'s reporter that the purpose of the event is to thoroughly discuss the difficulties of sexual minorities in the USSR and AIDS as a global problem.

According to the organizing commitee, 70 delegates of American, Canadian, German, Swiss and other foreign organizations arrived in Leningrad along with 140 activists of sexual minority groups from Russia, Belorussia and other Soviet republics.

At the opening a spokesman for the Leningrad city council Victor Drozdov announced that "maximum efforts will be bent to legalize the movement of sexual minorities" in the city. He said soon several committee of the Leningrad City Council will submit a proposal to the Russian parliament on abolishing Article 121 of the Russian criminal code declaring gay sex a crime.

According to Julie Dorf, participants in the conference intend to travel to Moscow later this week to attempt a demonstration in defence of sexual minorities in Red Square during the Soviet-American summit.

United States & Canada

Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Continues Visit

Tours Tula Garrison

LD2507171591 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Tula, Central Russia July 25 TASS—Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on an official visit to the USSR, today toured the Tula garrison.

He inspected samples of combat hardware and weapons, familiarised himself with combat training and attended a regiment tactical exercise involving paratroopers.

Holds News Conference

LD2507202691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The official visit to our country of General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, has ended. Today at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he held a news conference with Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Vladimir Beletskiy] Moiseyev said that the American guest was given the opportunity to familiarize himself with military training, exercise, and life in the Soviet Army. This visit became a continuation of dialogue within the framework of Soviet-U.S. cooperation in the military field. The guest was received by the USSR president and met the leadership of the country.

[Unidentified reporter] General, it was the 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons that was at issue all throughout the talks on preparation of the treaty on reduction of strategic weapons. Yet the treaty mentions a 30-percent reduction. Is it still the aim of the sides to achieve a 50-percent reduction?

[Powell, in English, with superimposed Russian translation] The number of warheads is indeed to be cut by 30 percent on both sides. To achieve a 50-percent reduction, it would be necessary to make very complex mathematical calculations of warheads arming various systems of weapons. This is why, to make things simpler, we speak of a 30-percent reduction of missiles at the final stage of flight.

The treaty to be attained is remarkable, and we are anxious that at the meeting between the presidents of our countries they will be able to sign it. What makes it unique is not arithmetic—be it 30 or 40 or 50 percent—but that it finally marks the beginning of the path toward the elimination of the most threatening strategic nuclear weapons. Previously we did sign a treaty on scrapping medium- and shorter-range weapons. Now at issue is a new class, a more powerful class of missiles. Having the backing of this treaty, we will look forward to new talks on further reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

[Moiseyev] I would like to say something else on this subject. If there is an element of trust in our relations, then today we can say with courage that an agreement on (?50 percent) reduction of strategic weapons will also be signed. [end recording]

Says Visit 'Fruitful'

LD2507214491 Moscow TASS in English 2132 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—U.S. Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell has said his visit to the Soviet Union was fruitful.

Powell said he had an opportunity to discuss a wide range of issues with the Soviet leadership and the military.

The meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev was especially important, Powell told reporters at a joint press conference with Chief of Soviet General Staff Mikhail Moiseyev today.

Powell praised the draft strategic arms reductions treaty, prepared for the Soviet-U.S. summit, as a genuine step towards stepping up strategic stability in the world.

Powell also supported the proposal to the United Nations Security Council on arms control in the Middle East.

The promising proposal should be carefully analysed, he said.

Moiseyev denied reports that the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty has run into opposition in the Soviet parliament because of alleged unilateral concessions on the part of the Soviet Union.

The treaty complies with the new defensive doctrine and meets defence sufficiency requirements, he said. This is how it was assessed after a discussion in the parliament committee on defence and state security, he said.

"As for ratification, it can probably be ratified at the forthcoming session of the parliament," he said.

Moiseyev and Powell favoured expanding contacts between the two militaries.

On Friday, General Powell and his entourage will embark on a tour of the Soviet Union and will visit Irkutsk, Khabarovsk and Vladivostok.

KGB Prepares For Bush Visit

LD2507155191 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By correspondent Sergei Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—In an unprecedented interview with TASS on the eve of U.S. President George Bush's visit to Moscow, KGB officials described security precautions involved in preparing a Soviet-U.S. summit.

"Preparations for such visits begin when our service contacts corresponding services of the country where the honoured guest comes from," deputy chief of the KGB bodyguards'department Colonel Valery Velichko, told TASS.

The KGB and an advance unit of the U.S. secret service are now preparing for the summit, Velichko said.

"We cooperate with the U.S. finance ministry service that protects the U.S. President," he said.

Both services worked in close contact during the then U.S. President Ronald Reagan's visit to the Soviet Union in 1988.

"Both our and the American service, protecting the Presidents, apply identical approaches to their duties," Velichko said.

This visit by Bush differs from previous visits by U.S. Presidents in that that there is very little time to prepare it, he said.

"In principle, we knew that the Soviet-U.S. summit would be held. However, up to the last moment we did not know when or where. The presidents could have met in any Soviet city, not necessarily in Moscow, and even in a third country," he said.

"Our service was preparing for the visit in advance, but as usual the final decision was taken unexpectedly. We in fact met our U.S. Colleagues only on July 23," he said.

"Very little time remains before the U.S. President flies here and our service has switched to an around-the-clock working schedule," he said.

More than 1,000 KGB and police officers will be involved in security arrangements, he said.

In order to avoid misunderstanding in cooperation between the two secret services, they constantly consult each other, he said.

All legal details have to be considered. For instance, various countries have different regulations for weapons imports. Americans allow Soviet secret services to bring their weapons and work with them in the United States, he said.

"On a reciprocal basis, Americans have also been allowed to bring their arms. However, there is no such reciprocity with Britain, Canada and several other countries," the Colonel said.

In addition, when many security officials are involved, identification is a problem, as well as radio communications on special frequencies. A uniform system of passes and call signs will be used during the visit, he said.

The security effort is complicated by several thousand reporters covering the summit. There were some 6,000 reporters during Ronald Reagan's visit. They all want to get to the "hottest spots"—signing ceremonies, press conferences, he said.

At times it is very difficult to put things in order at such happenings—to ensure security and give maximum access to reporters.

"Our service naturally gives priority to security, but at the same time tries to ensure maximally normal conditions for reporters," he said.

Asked about extraordinary situations and "blunders" in his work, Velichko joked morbidly that if had had "blunders" he would not have been giving the interview.

However, he admitted that things do not always go smoothly. During Ronald Reagan's visit there was a certain wariness in relations between the two services as they "grew accustomed to each other".

"Americans were afraid that we might do something differently, often covered us—shadowed our actions, for instance ordered transportation themselves, including for journalists, and this created additional difficulties," he said.

"This time, however, we hope that there will be no surprises," he said.

Nikolayenko Holds Talks With Aronson, Cohen

LD2607091391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1652 GMT 26 Jul 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington, 25 Jul (TASS)—Deputy Foreign Minister V.D. Nikolayenko has been on a short working visit to the American capital.

Conversations and consultations were held with B. Aronson and H. Cohen, assistant U.S. secretaries of state, on the interaction of the two countries in reaching a political settlement of conflicts in Latin America, above all in El Salvador, and on the African continent. Both sides noted the importance of the creative use for these purposes of the experience of Soviet-American cooperation in the settlement of the situations in Nicaragua, Namibia, and Angola, and the rest of the role of the United Nations as an intermediary.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Watanabe Leads Delegation to Vladivostok

OW2607074891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Japanese delegation led by Mr. Watanabe, member of the parliament and one of the three candidates for the post of prime minister of Japan, arrived in Vladivostok Thursday after visiting Khabarovsk.

In Vladivostok the Japanese delegation met with Vice-Chairman of the Primorsk regional executive committee Igor Chernyanskiy, First Vice-Commander of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Anatoliy Oleynik and other officials.

During the meetings Mr. Watanabe pointed out that "though there are many European and American companies willing to cooperate with the Far East, cooperation between the Soviet Far East and Japan is the top priority, because we are neighbours." In his words, Japanese parliamentarians favor the development of relations with the Soviet Union. However, they believe first of all a peace treaty should be signed.

Admiral Oleynik has invited members of the Japanese delegation to attend the upcoming exercise of the Pacific Fleet in the Sea of Japan scheduled for August.

Talks Continue on Japanese Joint Ventures

OW2607074991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Talks continue in Yakutsk between the Soviet state company YAKUTZOLOTO and the Japanese TOKYO MARUECHE. The sides are setting the terms for their joint venture to produce gold and diamond jewelry to an annual sum of 50 mn[million] dollars.

Assistant manager of YAKUTZOLOTO Vladimir Skrynnik has told INTERFAX they have settled the Soviet side promised to compensate for that by low labour costs which will keep the prices competitive on the world market.

Another group of TOKYO MARUECHE experts is to arrive shortly in Yakutsk for further talks. A compromise variant is expected to be worked out for the sales of the venture's products. Vladimir Skrynnik forecasts the beginning of production next year.

New Mode of Soviet-DPRK Relations Noted

SK2607100991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 20 Jul 91

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] We recommend that you listen to the reply given to Masahiro Hanasaka, a listener of ours residing in Morioka. On our radio broadcast, Mr. Hanasaka heard a report about the 85th Interparliamentary Union Conference held in Pyonayang, the capital of the DPRK. He took interest in this report and requested that we give him a detailed account of the recent developments USSR-DPRK relations. We think that this will be of interest to you our listeners as well.

In compliance with Mr. Hanasaka's request, we requested (Oleg Davydov), political science scholar, faculty member of the Diplomatic Academy of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, to explain about this subject.

According to (Oleg Davydov), the relations that developed so rapidly between the Soviet Union and the ROK are relatively slowing down today. It is not surprising that Pyongyang considers the new relations between our country and Seoul very negatively. These relations were described as trading principles for dollars. I must note that the Soviet side also is partly responsible for the lack of understanding that has developed. It seems that the Soviet Union did not use all possible means to explain its position on the ROK. For instance, the Soviet Union informed the North Korean side of the decision to establish diplomatic relations between Moscow and Seoul only two weeks before the event. (Oleg Davydov) stresses, however, that the true cause of the discord does not lie there.

We can say that the entire picture of our mutual relations is changing. Over the past decades, we viewed the situation on the Korean Peninsula from the standpoint of military and political confrontation with the United States. We regarded the DPRK as an important Soviet ally in the Far East. This position led to the situation in which we unconditionally supported Pyongyang on any issue. We tried to make the differences in our positions vague in conformity with the [word indistinct] principle. We pretended that there were no differences between us in contradictions and appraisals.

Today, the factors of the military, strategic, and ideological characteristics which have made the Soviet-DPRK relations traditionally close are losing their significance. Although military cooperation is maintained, according to (Oleg Davydov's view), its role in the future will be decreased according to the reappraisal of the alleviation of tensions in the Asia-Pacific region and in the scale and nature of the danger of war against the Soviet Union and the DPRK.

I note that Moscow and Pyongyang are dealing with many issues from different positions. The DPRK refuses to understand the democratization line, political pluralism, and progress toward a market economy. Pyongyang takes these steps as deviation from the socialist way and a concession to imperialism.

In the meantime, some Soviet media report on some new features to us about North Korea today. In these articles, North Korea is described as one of the last fortresses of Stalinism and an active opposer of the reforms carried out in the Soviet Union.

Under the circumstances, a reasonable question arises as to how we should develop relations with the DPRK and what connects our two countries. What we are witnessing today can be described as the collapse of the previous bureaucratic ideological model in our relations, stresses (Oleg Davydov). This model has fallen apart even more

in recent years in the practical interest and in cooperative tasks between the two sides. Meanwhile, the outline of a new model is beginning to show.

The political system which exists in the DPRK can be assessed differently. However, I think that maintaining traditional ties with our neighboring country in various fields is in our interests. We must bear in mind the fact that because no reliable peace and security structure has been established on the Korean Peninsula, (?the political and military alliance is an important aspect of Soviet-DPRK relations) and that [words indistinct] U.S.- ROK military cooperation.

In this way, ties between our country and the DPRK are contributing to maintaining peace and stability in this region. Today, the Soviet Union is the only superpower that has diplomatic relations with both Pyongyang and Seoul.

This position by Moscow, according to (Oleg Davydov's) view, will remove the DPRK's international isolation, contribute to strengthening stability, and improve predictability in relations with South Korea and improve the overall situation on the Korean Peninsula.

(Oleg Davydov) said: An important aspect of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and the DPRK is the economic relationship. As is known, the Soviet Union supplies North Korea with energy, resources, metallurgical products, and chemical goods. The DPRK exports rolled steel products, cement, and light industrial goods to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a major country helping in many of North Korea's economic plans. Enterprises that were built with Soviet assistance manufacture 40 percent of the DPRK's industrial products. Considering the fact that Eastern European countries have virtually discontinued technological cooperation with the DPRK, this is massive assistance.

At the same time, we must point out that various forms of ongoing mutual cooperation do not work today. New ways must be found. Cooperativization underway in the light industrial field is one new form of cooperation: that is, DPRK enterprises manufacture finished goods using Soviet-supplied resources and export them to the Soviet Union. This type of cooperation amounts to tens of millions of rubles a year.

As known, the Soviet-DPRK 1990-1991 trade and economic cooperation agreement provides a new principle for trade relations: a transition to a new opportunity to promote mutual trade and economic relations in which deals are made in convertible currencies at world market prices. The trade volume was estimated at approximately $600 million. A balance has been maintained in trade between the two countries.

The DPRK's debt to the Soviet Union is one of the sensitive issues in bilateral economic relations. We must point out that this debt is [word indistinct] that of Mongolia, Vietnam, and Cuba and that the DPRK has began to repay the debt incurred because of assistance. The repayment has been made by North Korea's supplying commodities and services in the form of shipbuilding and ship repairs. If we consider the fact that the total amount of debt exceeds two or three times that of the DPRK's annual volume of exports, the debt problem is acute.

The notion that trade is virtually the only channel of our economic cooperation is not true. The future lies in more efficient forms of cooperation. Experts believe that the potential of the DPRK, the ROK, China, and the Soviet Union can be combined for the development of natural resources, the establishment of the industrial infrastructure of the Soviet Union's Far East, the economic development of the Tuman River, where the Soviet, Chinese, and Korean borders meet, and other large-scale projects that are beneficial to mutual interests.

In concluding his remarks, (Oleg Davydov) said: Relations between the Soviet Union and the DPRK are undergoing a complicated period of change from a purely (?military) and ideological alliance to closer political and economic cooperation and coordination that strictly consider the two sides' legitimate national interests. I must point out that the road to this goal is not simple. In the end, successes will be determined by whether or not the two sides will be able to promote new forms of cooperation that conform to mutual interests and the present international political situation instead of criticizing each other.

Rogachev Receives ROK Ministry Official

LD2607014191 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev today received head of the [South] Korean Foreign Ministry's Department Kwon Yong-min, in Moscow for consultations at the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The two officials had a conversation on issues of bilateral relations and international politics.

Deputy Foreign Minister Receives Mongolian Envoy

OW2507092291 Ulaanbaatar Radio Ulaanbaatar in English 1445 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] In Moscow, the Mongolian Ambassador, Mr. Mishigdorj, was received by Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union Mr. Obminskiy. The two men discussed the urgent problems of international economic relations and [word indistinct] issue of bilateral trade, economic cooperation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Cited on Indonesia, ASEAN Meetings

LD2607080791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2210 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, who has in Jakarta as a member of a Soviet Government delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Maslyukov, has said that the Soviet Union wants diversified and mutually beneficial cooperation with Indonesia, which plays an ever greater role in strengthening stability and security in Southeast Asia and Asia and the Pacific in general.

Igor Rogachev said that in the course of the visit the Soviet delegation discussed the outlook for expanding bilateral relations. The basis for that was laid during Indonesian President Suharto's visit to the Soviet Union in September 1989. The meeting with President Suharto and the negotiations with members of the Indonesian Government and representatives of the country's business circles revealed good opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation between our countries in such areas as nature conservation, space research, the development of sea resources, transport, communications, fishing, and farm produce processing. Political cooperation on a bilateral basis, and within the framework of ASEAN was among other issues discussed.

The Soviet delegation also visited Kuala Lumpur, where it took part in the conference of ASEAN foreign ministers for the first time in the history of relations between the Soviet Union and that authoritative regional grouping. The Soviet deputy foreign minister voiced the hope that a dialogue between the Soviet Union and ASEAN would continue to develop. There was a time, Igor Rogachev said, when the Soviet Union treated ASEAN with suspicion, regarding it as a military bloc. The attitude was quite wrong. ASEAN has proved that it is a viable and effective organization which has achieved a great deal in its social and economic development. Now we see ASEAN as a reliable partner. The Soviet Union supports ASEAN's idea of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality, a region free from nuclear weapons.

Igor Rogachev noted Indonesia's positive contribution to the settlement of the Cambodian conflict. In that connection he emphasized the importance of the informal conference in Jakarta last month. He said that that conference raised the hope for an early settlement of the Cambodian problem. The latest developments—for instance the results of the just-ended meetings on Cambodia in Beijing—are evidence of that.

Malaysia's Badawi on Maslyukov Talks, ASEAN

LD2507195791 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By correspondent Mikhail Tsyganov]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur July 25 TASS—"Whatever the processes in the Soviet Union, it remains a great power, and a political entity playing an important role in the international arena. We therefore welcome the start of our consultations," Malaysian Foreign Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi told TASS today.

He commented on the results of the first-ever official meeting between representatives of the Soviet Union and the foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member-states—Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines.

"We are very much gratified to point out that we have been able to discuss, frankly and in detail, many matters that are of the greatest interest to us with Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Maslyukov who led the Soviet delegation.

"Special attention was devoted to the possibilities for developing economic cooperation between ASEAN countries and the Soviet Union. Such cooperation can be of much benefit to the two sides.

"At the same time we seek to have a dialogue on political issues as well. We regard these two aspects as equal priorities," Badawi said.

The Soviet delegation has been invited to attend the ASEAN foreign ministers' next conference.

Officials View Southeast Asian Cooperation

LD2507112691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1751 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By correspondents Aleksey Petrov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Excerpts] Jakarta, 24 Jul (TASS)—Broad opportunities for the development of economic trade and scientific-technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and Indonesia emerged during the visit to Jakarta on 21 to 24 July by a Soviet delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Maslyukov.

As your TASS correspondent was informed today by Yuriy Koptev, deputy minister of general machine building, the Indonesian side showed great interest in establishing cooperation with the Soviet Union in the field of space research and creating a regional telecommunication system using Soviet communication satellites. Indonesia is particularly interested in using Soviet satellites and other space systems to study natural resources and for remote sensing. Our proposal to carry out space-based surveys, including making topographical maps, estimating forestry resources, and compiling a land register, aroused much interest. Jakarta is counting on the USSR's assistance in mastering space technology and constructing a test-range to launch high-altitude rockets for intensive research into the upper layers of the atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Electronics industry minister Vladislav Kolesnikov, said that during the Soviet delegation's stay in Malaysia, interest was shown in developing cooperation with the Soviet Union; in particular, in the joint of integrated circuits, cathode-ray tubes and other "active components" of electronic equipment. We are also interested in establishing joint operations with companies in southeast Asia, which have amassed considerable experience with firms in Japan, South Korea, and other countries, the minister said.

Burma 'Should Be Helped' in Antidrug Activities

BK2507124791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Burmese 1200 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Commentary by Yuriy Kostin "The Ripened Problem"]

[Text] It is not new for the United States to impose trade and economic sanctions against Myanmar [Burma]. The sanctions were imposed two years ago after citing human rights violations by the military regime. The new U.S. Government's statement quoted the destruction of democracy quoting the inability to convene a national assembly for the representatives elected in the 1990 elections to perform their respective duties and responsibilities.

The convening of the National Assembly has been postponed. What is the reason? According to military sources, the National Assembly can convene with the elected representatives only after a new constitution has been adopted with a referendum. So far the situation remains vague and uncertain. The military regime which took power is untiringly and repeatedly claiming that the problem of power transfer is solely an internal affair and naturally it is difficult to contradict this statement. The world community has taken a reasonable interest in the Myanmar situation and it is waiting in anticipation for a solution to the country's complicated and difficult internal affairs. Due consideration should be given to fulfill the desires of the Burmese people as expressed in the elections. Therefore it remains to expect the Burmese people, without any external influence, to solve their own intricate internal affairs.

I would like to bring up another problem. In that same statement, the U.S. Government alleged that the Myanmar military regime's efforts are not enthusiastic enough in combating the illicit narcotic drugs trade. Based on this fact, Myanmar will probably lose monetary loans granted by other countries as well as other world financial organizations. In reality, it has been a long time since the U.S. stopped giving aid to Myanmar, which includes aid for the sale of airplanes and spare parts, [words indistinct] and other things which are used to combat the narcotic drugs trade. This move has affected the fight against drug traffickers especially hampering Myanmar's efforts to eradicate poppy cultivation and narcotic drugs trafficking. That is why the narcotic drugs trade is still strong and active.

Recently, during the dry season, Myanmar's Armed Forces launched the regular Operation Moe Hein. During that operation, the Air Force and the Army destroyed poppy and other narcotic drug plantations and some opium refineries in the jungles. Apart from that, they also guard and patrol the common border jointly with some units of the Royal Thai Army. This joint operation is to cut off the illicit drug trafficking routes.

Later the Myanmar authorities held public ceremonies to burn narcotic drugs confisicated from drug traffickers and the amount destroyed was $4,000 million according to official estimates announced in Yangon [Rangoon]. It shows the greater interest taken by Myanmar on its fight against illicit narcotic drugs trafficking. Much effort and financial support is still needed to liquidate all kinds of drug traffickers from the Golden Triangle Region. The main thing is for all countries which have the common interest of halting the narcotic drug trade to cooperate and join hands in combating drug trafficking. That is why, international cooperation and contacts should not be cut but instead Myanmar should be helped in combating narcotic drugs trafficking.

Commentator Views U.S.-Phillipines Base Accord

LD1907074991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2210 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Commentary by Vladimir Belov]

[Excerpts] Talks have ended in Manila on the future of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines. The communique on the results of the negotiations underlines that the sides reached agreement on all basic aspects of the problem. Now this commentary from Vladimir Belov. [passage omitted]

Thus it took only three days to settle all the disputed issues that sophisticated diplomats of the two countries had been unable to solve during 14 months of very complex and quite often acute negotiations. What is the reason for that?

The terms were certainly pressing. The sides had to make their decision by the middle of September. But the main catalyst of the talks was the erupted Pinatubo volcano that did what politicians failed to do. The devastating eruptions significantly corrected the positions of the sides and made it possible to reach accord. Observers believe that this happened chiefly because of Manila's concessions. Judge for yourself. (?On) the pretext of the need for long reconstruction work at Subic Bay, Washington secured a provision under which the Americans would stay for yet another decade rather than seven years, as Manila required, at the base. It will be more expensive to reconstruct the Clark Field air base, covered with volcanic ashes, than to set up a new base in a different country. This facility is no longer of much interest for the Pentagon, however the compensation for Subic Bay will be several times smaller than the Philippines recently demanded. In the current situation the

United States official has (?told) to the NEW YORK TIMES correspondent: We have received nearly everything we wanted.

And what is now? Has the problem [of] the United States bases in the Philippines been resolved once and for all? It has not, because the Manila agreements are still to be approved by George Bush and Corazon Aquino for their subsequent inclusion in the text of the new treaty on the bases. But this is not all. The treaty is to come into force only after its approval by two-thirds of the members of the Philippines Senate. However, many senators are sharply critical of the accords reached in Manila.

Near East & South Asia

Yanayev, Nishanov Meet Palestinian Delegation

LD2507114891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jul (TASS)—USSR Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev received in the Kremlin today a delegation of the Palestine National Council headed by Ibrahim Abu-Lughud, which is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the course of a discussion with the Palestinian parliamentarians on international problems, Gennadiy Yanayev stressed the Soviet Union's desire to reaffirm the new equal and just relations between the states and to settle conflict situations by political means. In this context, the USSR reaffirmed its determination to help in achieving an all-embracing Near East settlement on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council, taking into consideration the balance of interests of all the parties drawn into the Arab-Israeli conflict and the need to ensure in equal measure both the implementation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the guarantee of security of existence within internationally accepted borders of each state of the region, including Israel. It is precisely on these fundamental positions that the Soviet Union's participation in work to prepare for the convocation of a world conference on the Near East is based.

The Palestinian parliamentarians gave a briefing on the situation that has developed on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, and on the on-going peaceful uprising against the Israeli occupation regime. The firm will of the Palestinian people for self-determination and to acquire statehood on the territory of their homeland was emphasized. It was noted that the Palestinian peole are ready to search for mutually acceptable compromise variants of a political settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and in this context they give a positive appraisal of the efforts now being jointly undertaken by the USSR and the United States of America to launch a Near East peace process.

The meeting was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, typical of Soviet-Palestinian relations.

The Palestinian parliamentarians were also received today by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of nationalities of the USSR Surpeme Soviet.

Rafik Nishanov spoke about the work being carried out to prepare for the signing of a new Union treaty, and about the measures aimed at overcoming the crisis in the country's economy, the develoment of the process of perestroyka in democratic and constitutional frameworks, and the strengthening of the basis of a law-governed state.

The Soviet Union's desire to reaffirm the new equal and democratic relations between states and a political settlement to conflict situation in the international arena, particularly in the Near East, was emphasized. It was noted that Soviet diplomacy is guided by precusely these fundamental positions in its work in preparing for the convocation of a peace conference on the Near East.

The Palestinians gave a briefing on the situation which has developed on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. The firm will of the participants in the Intifada and of the whole Palestinian people for self-determination and to acquire statehood on the territory of their homeland was emphasized.

Issues regarding the development of Soviet-Palestinian parliamentary ties were discussed during the meeting.

Assessment of Visit

LD2507191491 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1600 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] At the invitation of the Supreme Soviet of the country, a delegation from the National Council of the state of Palestine [PNC] is currently in the Soviet Union. The following is an assessment of the importance of this visit, made in a statement to Moscow Radio by (Vitaliy Koplov), representative of the department of international relations at the Soviet parliament.

[Koplov in Russian, fading to Arabic translation] This visit comes after a long break of 10 years. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to this event, as there are those who often claim that the Palestinian people do not possess clear political will and that no organization represents all aspects of its political life. However, the PNC is considered as precisely the organization that covers the various political currents. Under present circumstances, which witness the emergence of a possibility for holding a peace conference on a Middle East settlement in the very near future, it is possible that the Palestinian parliamentarians can contribute their part to the efforts which aim at opening the talks.

The Soviet side believes that parliamentary contacts constitute an important trend in the field of deepening dialogue between the two countries.

(Vitaliy Koplov) went on to say that he recently visited the occupied territories, as part of a delegation of Soviet parliamentary representatives, for the first time since the

partition of Palestine in 1948. Members of the Soviet delegation witnessed for themselves the difficult conditions under which the Palestinian Arab people live and the costs of their struggle for independence in terms of blood and suffering.

For that reason, (Vitaliy Koplov) is convinced that the talks being held in Moscow between the PNC delegation and the Soviet leaders will become an important factor which will help solve the conflict that erupted in the Middle East through no fault of the Palestinian Arab people whatsoever.

The Soviet parliament representative went on to add that the Soviet Union is currently coordinating with the United States regarding the Middle East question. That is to say, as a matter of fact, the two countries are acting in tandem. Talk here is about the need to push Israel to move away from the zero-point, as far as its attitude toward holding a regional conference on peace in the near future is concerned.

(Vitaliy Koplov) has just returned from Israel, where he ascertained that its inhabitants are tired of living in a state of no-war, no peace. The Soviet Union tries to support the state of Palestine in the current situation and departs from the premise that the Palestinians could participate in the conference whether as an independent delegation, within a Jordanian delegation or within a joint delegation from the Arab countries. (Vitaliy Koplov) is of the view that the Palestinians will solve all these issues themselves. There is talk about the emergence of their state and the gaining of genuine independence.

The Palestinian question is the core of a Middle East settlement. It is worth mentioning that the PNC decided in its latest session to renounce all forms of armed struggel and to recognize Israel's right to existence.

The Soviet parliament representative said that the Arab countries agree to recognize Israel's right to existence in exchange for its withdrawal from occupied Arab lands and its recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Israeli Envoy on Mideast Talks

OW2607031091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] Israel is not advancing any prior conditions for the future talks on the Middle East settlement, Yosef Ben-Dor, an executive of the General Consulate of the State of Israel in the Soviet Union, told DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. He said that the only obstacle on the way towards the peaceful conference was the representation of Palestinians at it. He described the idea of sending a united Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the forthcoming conference as undoubtedly positive.

He also said that new winds were blowing in the region. He welcomed the Soviet Union's and the United States' efforts to settle the long-drawn-out conflict, and expressed hope that Israeli-Soviet relations would be fully restored. In his opinion, this would be consonant with the policy of new thinking pursued by the Soviet Union and would allow the USSR to play a constructive role in the Middle East. [passage omitted]

Prospect of Talks on Mideast Settlement Viewed

PM2507131391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by observer A. Ostalskiy; first paragraph is introduction: "Will Talks Begin in October?"]

[Text] Our Cairo correspondent D. Velikiy reports on the completion of the latest trip to the Near East by U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker. (You can read his report on page 5.) Our observer A. Ostalskiy comments on this event.

After the end of the conflict in the Persian Gulf U.S. President G. Bush promised to secure progress in settling the Arab-Israeli conflict, and it now appears that the administration's persistent efforts have begun to bear fruit.

Only very recently it was difficult to imagine that Arab countries like Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan would unanimously agree to the American settlement plan (enthusiastically approved beforehand at the London "G-7" meeting), or that these Arab states would announce their readiness to end the economic boycott of Israel and even begin direct talks with it without any preconditions. But now U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, during the trip to the Near East which has just ended, has secured positive responses to almost all his proposals in Cairo, Damascus, Amman, and Riyadh. True, the most difficult stage of his tour was the final one—the talks in Jerusalem.

"For 43 years Israel sought direct talks with its neighbors and was right to seek this. And now there is a real chance of such talks—face to face," Baker stated at a press conference in Jerusalem.

To all appearances, the Israeli Government is at a loss. You might have expected it to have rejected the new proposals out of hand or at best to have demanded a postponement to consider the situation which has developed so it could then try to play for time and avoid giving a reply. However, the U.S. Administration brought unprecedented pressure to bear on Shamir's cabinet. He was given to understand that a direct link exists between his readiness to make sensible compromises and the feasibility of Israel receiving new American credits to the value of about $10 billion, which are absolutely necessary to settle the many immigrants arriving from the Soviet Union. Taking the Arab countries' peace-loving moves into consideration, Tel Aviv risked finding itself in almost total isolation: After all,

even the leaders of the U.S. Jewish community, on whom people in Israel invariably pin their hopes for support, also came out in favor of showing flexibility.

But nevertheless journalists could hardly believe their ears when on Monday they heard Shamir say that his country will probably agree to peace talks on the Near East, in view of the change in the Arabs' stance. Moreover, according to a report by the American television company NBC, Shamir and Baker even discussed a possible date and place for the talks—October in Washington. Israeli government representatives also reported that a final, official reply will be given in just a few days' time—as Washington is demanding. The Americans are demanding total clarity before the Moscow summit meeting. It is believed that there G. Bush would like to announce together with the Soviet president a breakthrough in settling the conflict achieved under the two great powers' "patronage." And this would indeed make quite an impact. But that is not all—this conference without exaggeration could open a new chapter in the history of this endless intractable conflict.

Of course it would be unwise to become euphoric—there are still many serious obstacles on the road of progress in a settlement. For example, the question of the composition of the Palestinian delegation at the talks is far from being settled. And the extreme right-wingers in the Israeli ruling coalition are already up in arms about Shamir's "treachery" and are threatening to bring about a government crisis, and is it certainly not out of the question that they will be able to provoke such a crisis. Many people express doubts about the Israeli premier's sincerity. There are plenty of pessimists who also do not believe in the consistency of the Arabs' peace-loving aspirations. In short, only the very first, most timid of steps has yet been taken. But without doubt it is in the right direction.

And what about the USSR? Has our country a place in this process? In bygone days any activation of American diplomacy in the Near East automatically elicited a sharply negative response from our country, which would invariably immediately try to do something to nullify the Americans. But now, during the new times, Washington's "peace offensive," on the contrary, gives us a chance to actively join in the regional process. Moreover, our participation is an absolutely necessary condition for its success. And it is not only to the Americans who need this success; to an equal and maybe even greater extent it is also in the Soviet Union's interests.

Military Historian Assesses Iraqi Nuclear Aims

LD2507014891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1400 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, today we discuss the situation in and around Iraq. The subject was chosen on the basis of your letters, specifically, on the basis of your questions about Iraq.

Some of your questions were answered by Sergey Varabyov, a military historian specializing in Middle East issues. Today we telephoned him again and asked him to answer two questions from Mansur Khalid in Jordan and Yasin Abu Bakr Sulayman in Sudan.

The two questions were: Were not the reprisals against Iraq too severe? Has the Gulf war affected the state of the Soviet-Iraqi relations?

The second question is: It is said that Iraq will soon have nuclear weapons: Does it need them?

Now the microphone is with Dr. Sergey Varabyov.

[Varabyov] The Iraqi aggression against Kuwait naturally deserved some punishment. The reaction was like the reaction to any aggression. Specifically, the ruling regime in that country was the one that deserved punishment. It is the ruling regime, not the honorable Iraqi people, who deserve punishment. In reality, the Iraqi people paid the price of the attempt to annex Kuwait. [passage omitted]

I am sure that the traditional good feelings of the Soviet peoples toward the Iraqis are unchangeable. We have cooperated with Iraq and b friended the Iraqi people since 1958. [passage omitted]

As for the so-called Iraqi nuclear threat: information about Iraqi nuclear capabilities has basically come from Western intelligence authorities. They became known to the public through the intelligence authorities of the Western countries, mostly from the CIA. This information was gathered during the preparations for the war against Iraq, which also required preparing public opinion. I think Iraqi capabilities to produce nuclear weapons were intentionally exaggerated in Western capitals. This is indicated by the statement of the chairman of the International Atomic Energy Agency Baghdad. He said there was less than 40 kg of enriched uranium in Iraq. It was previously known that Iraq had 40 kg of this substance, which makes it possible to produce nuclear arms. The amount required to produce a single nuclear bomb is 25 kg.

It is known that the Iraqi leadership has committed itself to provide the UN commission with all information related to Iraqi nuclear capabilities by 25 July. It seems the experts who are monitoring this will obtain this information. It also seems that the Iraqi authorities will abandon their previous statements, which said that the amount of enriched uranium in Iraq does not exceed 500 grams.

However, the ruling regime in Baghdad naturally seeks to acquire nuclear technology. But, Saddam Husayn is not the only leader in the world who is trying to achieve this. There is a group of countries who might soon become, or who might already have secretly become, members of the so-called nuclear club. They do not want to sign the international nonproliferation treaty. For instance, there is Israel, South Africa, Pakistan, India

and Algeria. Each of these countries has its reasons and motives to exert efforts in the nuclear field. These reasons and motives are related to the nature of the ruling regime in these countries and the characteristics of the political and military situation in the region.

What about Iraq? Why does the ruling regime in Baghdad want nuclear weapons. I think Saddam Husayn needs the nuclear bomb primarily to fulfil his regional ambitions and to make Iraq a kind of superpower in the region, i.e., in the Middle East. This would enable him to dictate conditions to the neighboring countries, and it would make him the Arab leader, i.e. the only man who leads an Arab country and could destroy the Israeli enemy completely.

West Europe

Kohl Phones Gorbachev on G-7 Summit, Relations

LD2407185191 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—German Chancellor Helmut Kohl today phoned to President Mikhail Gorbachev.

They discussed the results of the G-7 summit in London. They agreed that the meeting was a success and has launched a new important process.

They agreed on specific joint steps following the results of the meeting with due account of bilateral relations. They discussed events in the Soviet Union and Europe.

Further on Call

PM2507124591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talk between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl"]

[Text] On 24 July German Chancellor Helmut Kohl telephoned the USSR president. They exchanged impressions of the London "big seven" meeting. They were unanimous that it had taken place successfully, on a positive plane, and had laid the foundation to a very important new process.

They agreed on specific joint steps for the immediate future on the basis of the results of the meeting of the "seven" and with a consideration for the agenda in bilateral relations. They touched on some topical events in the USSR and in Europe.

New Lufthansa Office in Moscow Welcomed

PM2507133991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by V. Belikov: "Housewarming for 'Lufthansa'"]

[Text] On 19 July Aeroflot's major foreign partner—Germany's "Lufthansa"—officially opened its office in the new hotel on the capital's Olimpiyskiy Boulevard.

"Lufthansa" was the first foreign company to begin passenger flights to the USSR from abroad. This was 65 years ago, on the Berlin-Koenigsberg-Moscow route. Six years later the airline acquired two twin-engined multiseater ANT-9 aircraft, designed by A.N. Tupolev, in the Soviet Union to serve the route. And nowadays "Lufthansa" operates 86 flights per week to and from our country, linking Moscow and Leningrad with Frankfurt-am-Main, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Munich, and Duesseldorf.

Naturally, with 250,000 passengers per year, more spacious premises were needed for the aviation company's office and ticket agency. An opportunity presented itself when the plan for a joint venture to construct and operate the four-star "Olympic Penta" hotel was implement together with "Intourist." In less than two years a 508-room hotel building was erected on Moscow's Olympiyskiy Boulevard, with a conference hall, restaurant, and other hotel services equipped to first-class international standard housed under a dome next door.

Maybe it is a mere coincidence—the successful conclusion of our president's London trip and the Moscow housewarming of one of the world's leading aviation companies. Coincidence it may be, but it is not mere chance and testifies to how fruitful and mutually beneficial good cooperation between Soviet and Western organizations, firms, and business people can be. Surely this was what the "seven plus one" meeting had in mind when speaking of helping to include our economy in the world economic system, of interest in developing our potential, and specifically of stepping up technical assistance in the sphere of transport.

This is by no means "selling national assets down the river," as philistine tongues in our country claim, but a normal, universally accepted, and respectful approach to the interests of a business partner with long-standing mutually interested relations, as the "Lufthansa" example shows.

The satellite communications antennas on the roof of the new building will not just receive radio messages making preliminary reservations for tickets and hotel room, as is customary throughout the network of "Penta" hotels, which belong to the aviation company. "Lufthansa" is actively participating in the reconstruction of Sheremetyevo-1 and, together with Moscow City Soviet, is preparing to set up a major commercial center in the capital. Finally, this fall, when Aeroflot receives West European A-310 airbuses, the aviation company will assume responsibility for their technical maintenance. "Lufthansa" has a lot of business in Moscow today.

German Armed Forces To Retain MiG-29's

LD2507083791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0700 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The Bundeswehr has announced its intention to continue using the 24 MiG-29 fighters which it inherited from the GDR's National People's Army. The machines have been given a scrupulous examination, during which the German experts have established the good and reliable flying characteristics of the aircraft. At first the German were dubious about whether it was worth becoming dependent upon spare parts supplies from the Soviet Union. However, it emerged that there are more than enough in the stockpiles of the former GDR National People's Army.

Western Forces Trying To Improve Traffic Safety

PM2407144191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jul 91 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Major S. Popov: "Road Traffic Accidents and Other Unpleasant Occurrences"]

[Text] Western Group of Forces—In spite of the fact that after Germany's unification the volume of traffic on the roads in its eastern part has increased 24-fold, the incidence of accidents involving Western Group of Forces' military transport—as a result of extensive preventive work by the relevant services—has fallen by almost one-half. However, the number of road traffic accidents involving private vehicles has sharply increased (during the last six months alone, members of the Western Group of Forces' staff have acquired approximately 17,000 cars).

This result of purchasing technically unsound "foreign makes" (often simply dressed up piles of junk), a lack of the necessary good driving habits, flouting basic traffic laws, and flagrant violations of the regulations for acquiring and using private cars established by the Western Group of Forces, is lamentable and has led to 28 deaths and many injuries.

This alarming problem was the subject of heated debate at an enlarged session of the group of forces' military council which took place a few days ago. A number of decisions on matters of principle were adopted, whose essential elements were formulated by Colonel General M. Burlakov, commander of the Western Group of Forces: "Not a single car of the group of forces, be it a private or military one, should appear on Germany's roads in poor working order, or with an inexperienced driver." The taking of private cars back to the Soviet Union will be more strictly controlled.

Admiral Chernavin Pays Visit to Finland

PM2407152991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jul 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Visit's Over"]

[Text] Helsinki, 19 Jul—The official visit to Finland by Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister, ended today.

The visit was held within the framework of regular contacts between the two countries' Armed Forces. The Soviet military chief was the guest of Rear Admiral S. Visa, commander of the Finnish Navy.

During the visit Adm. V.N. Chernavin was received by Admiral Ya. Klenberg, commander in chief of the Finnish Defense Forces, familiarized hismelf with the Turku Naval Base, visited a coastal defense artillery fort and the Perno Shipyard, and toured the country.

Mitsotakis Holds Moscow Press Conference

PM2507141391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report by V. Drobkov and N. Miroshinik: "Talk With Journalists"]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jul—Today, at the end of the Moscow stage of K. Mitsotakis' visit to our country, the Greek prime minister met at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center with Soviet and foreign journalists and answered their numerous questions.

Having analyzed the entire package of problems which were discussed during the Soviet-Greek talks, he assessed highly the treaty on friendship and cooperation signed in Moscow and noted the positive importance of the "business initiated by M. Gorbachev" for the future not only of the Soviet Union but also of Europe and the whole world.

Immediately after the press conference Greek Prime Minister K. Mitsotakis received PRAVDA journalists. Answering our questions, he stated in particular that he is extremely satisfied with the Moscow stage of his visit which has just ended.

"I had very frank talks and conversations with Mr Gorbachev," the prime minister said. "There was a very useful exchange of opinions. We noted the coincidence or proximity of our views on the most diverse issues. And we agreed regarding the main problem: that it is essential to raise the level of Soviet-Greek relations in all aspects, that a new period should begin in Soviet-Greek relations in the spirit of the changes which have taken place in the world and in Europe. And the treaty on friendship and cooperation which we have signed today to a considerable extent materializes this resolve of ours. It is the foundation on which we shall build the new edifice of our mutual relations."

Speaking of the atmosphere in which the talks proceeded in Moscow, the prime minister particularly noted his faith in the proximity of views and positions and cultural and historical nature of our two peoples. "There are very long-standing and deep links and ties which have never

been darkened between our peoples," K. Mitsotakis noted. "They have been historical links, cultural links, religious links. And the level of our political mutual relations for many years was not adequate for the real friendship which linked our peoples. It seems to me that we are now improving this level of relations, especially in the cultural field, and we are making them the kind of relations our people need. And I should also like to add that my talks with Mr Gorbachev were very frank and very pleasant. We were able to agree on a lot and we agreed on virtually everything discussed."

Answering a PRAVDA correspondents' questions, Mrs D. Bakoyiannis, deputy minister under the prime minister, particularly noted that the Greek side regards the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union as exceptionally important.

Completes Moscow Stage of Visit

PM2607085891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Moscow part of the program of Greek Prime Minister K. Mitsotakis' official visit to the USSR, filled with fruitful conversations and talks, has ended.

On the final day of his stay in the Soviet capital, 24 July, the guest was received in the Kremlin by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B.N. Yeltsin. Between them they reached agreement on the elaboration of a draft agreement on all-around cooperation between the Russian Federation and Greece. The preparation of this document was assigned to a joint working group. K. Mitsotakis invited the Russian president to visit Greece this December in order to sign the agreement there.

The prime minister devoted part of the day to acquainting himself with the sights of the Moscow Kremlin and to a trip to Zagorsk, where he viewed the Troitse-Sergiyeva monastery and talked with representatives of the clergy.

Then the main part of the official ceremony to see off the guest took place in the Georgiyevskiy hall of the Great Kremlin Palace. USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva warmly bid farewell to the head of the Greek government and his wife. The ceremony was continued at Vnukovo airport, where K. Mitsotakis was given the honors envisaged by state protocol for visits of this rank. He was accompanied on his tour of the country by USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh and other officials.

The Greek prime minister left for in Kiev.

On the same day K. Mitsotakis arrived in the Ukrainian capital. At Borisposlkiy Airport he was welcomed by Ukrainian Prime Minister V.P. Fokin and other officials.

Political & Social

CPSU Central Committee Holds Plenary Session

Gorbachev Addresses Plenum

CM2607110191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 91 Second Edition pp 1-2

["On the Draft New CPSU Program: M.S. Gorbachev's Report at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum 25 July"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades!

The adoption of a party program is no ordinary matter even in usual, so to say, normal conditions. However, we have to do this at a crucial and critical stage in the development of society and of the state.

The document which we are examining should become, in essence, the basis for the party to define its position in the new conditions, to consolidate its ranks around clearly-stated aims. In other words, this is both a program for the future and a plan for specific actions for today and tomorrow.

Our program is addressed not only to members of the party. It defines the policy which the CPSU intends to propose to its supporters and to the whole of society for the forthcoming period. It is our view of the ways to get out of the crisis, that we should advance the reforms which have been begun and to resolve the very acute problems facing the country.

The Program Commission was set the task of working on the basis of the program statement of the 28th CPSU Congress. Even a cursory analysis of the document which you have in your hands shows that that is indeed how we have acted. At the same time we also tried to take into account the concepts set out during the debate taking place in the party and the country. Nor did we ignore all the interesting things that there are in the alternative programs which have been published.

Moving on to arguments in support of the draft which has been put forward, I should like to start with the question: Why does the party now need a document of this type, and which objective reasons have predetermined the need for it? I can briefly put it this way: The previous theoretical and practical model of socialism which was foisted on the party for many decades has proved bankrupt. The need for a thoroughgoing restructuring has appeared, a democratic reformation of all aspects of public life. Both the renewal of the party itself and the need for a new party program are connected with this.

Once More "About The Fundamental Alteration Of Our Entire Viewpoint Regarding Socialism."

It would seem that the course toward perestroyka was reinforced in the resolutions of the 28th CPSU Congress and there is no reason to go back to this. However, there are forces within the party that have openly gone against the congress's line, and are raising doubts about its entire current policy.

So, does our society need perestroyka, or is it a fateful error? Or is it even, as some declare, a betrayal of the cause of socialism?

Those who are today abusing perestroyka and its initiators do not have their facts right. The truth is that the country approached the beginning of the 1980s already in a state of depression. Society's old and new illnesses were not being revealed, and moreover, were not being cured. They were driven inwards, something which aggravated the situation even further and, finally, led to the hard crisis.

This is not the crisis of some individual parts of society's organism, but of the very model of barrack-like communism. It should be said that the totalitarian and bureaucratic system created by Stalin allowed major results to be achieved through the concentration of the forces and resources of the huge country. But extraordinary efforts were, step by step, gnawing at society's health, and led to the squandering of its resources, the loss of incentives for productive and creative labor.

Lenin's concept that socialism cannot be built on bare enthusiasm was confirmed in practice. The fact that the system's possibilities were about to be exhausted was understood long ago by many people. It was not accidental that straight after Stalin's death a major attempt to change the situation was undertaken. And, as we all well know, after that they approached the tackling of this problem quite a few times. Solutions were worked out which were not bad in principle, aiming as they did to spur economic progress and to involve the lever of material and personal interest.

But, each time appropriate changes had to be introduced in the political system and in society's superstructure, the reformist fervor would fade and the matter would be put back, with things being left to carry on in customary fashion.

Time took its course. Mass repressions were stopped, and many elements of our totalitarian legacy were abandoned, but the old command-administrative system based on the absolute supremacy of state ownership remained at the root of power and administration. Essentially, that was the post-Stalinist period.

I have said this many times regarding our discussion of the party program, and I wish to stress this once more: Perestroyka was vitally important, and there was no other way for us to break out of the vicious circle in which we found ourselves. The need for this became all the greater since the country was increasingly losing its former positions, falling behind the world's developed countries in almost all spheres of scientific, technical, economic, and even social progress.

We are now often reproached for acting almost blindly, using the trial and error method and having no clear notion of our goal. That is not so. When we embarked on reform, we were well aware that we would not be able to escape just by introducing odd improvements. What is in fact needed is—to use Lenin's phrase—yet another change of our whole concept of socialism, which should now consider our 70 years of experience.

Every step has been made with extreme difficulty by virtue of the fact that over many decades, both in the Party and in society, ideological stereotypes have taken root, and every innovation has been perceived as something verging on an attempt against socialism's very foundations.

To start, we focused our efforts on scientific-technical progress, but the mechanisms for its introduction did not work. We then took up reforming the economic mechanism, but it too was blocked. Then, the idea of political reform appeared; the entire Party and the whole of society were included in this discussion, and, eventually, it was adopted at the nineteenth Party conference. In this way, the reform process emerged into the mainstream and became irreversible.

But, the reforms which, as we hoped, were supposed to resolve in a short space of time the problems which had built up are accompanied by complex and contradictory processes which have deepened the crisis. Society's sickness turned out to be far more serious than imagined. This gives rise to confusion in people's minds, to alarm, disappointment, and fears.

In light of all this, it would be suicidal if we, on this occasion, were to falter and stop halfway. For the Party and the country, there now can be no other decision than to advance further, intensifying the changes already embarked upon and confirming the new modern, progressive model for social relations.

In essence, this idea runs through the whole draft party program. Of the many policy issues I consider, it is necessary to single out one over which it can be said many generations of the advocates of socialism have stumbled. Today, it also continues to be the subject of acute discussions. On its correct solution the very future of the socialist idea depends in theory and practice. I have in mind the correlation of socialism and the market. In the past, these concepts were considered incompatible here on the basis that the market relations contradict distribution according to labor as if the exploitation of man by man is based on them. In reality, the market itself does not determine the character of production relations. On the other hand, it was—and remains since the earliest times—the only mechanism which allows the labor contribution of every producer to be measured objectively and, to some degree, automatically without bureaucracy's interference. Only through the market does it become clear how much his goods are actually needed by society and their true worth. If there is a large number of producers and they compete for the consumer, then the quality and abundance of goods becomes an additional reward for every working person for his personal contribution to the economy.

All the world experience of recent decades leads to the conclusion that outside the market economy it is impossible to realize the principle of distribution according to labor. This means that socialism and the market are not only compatible but also indivisible, in essence.

The market is not an aim but a means which will help to increase sharply the efficiency of public-sector production and will make it possible to direct considerably more funds, resources, goods, and food to social programs than is possible now.

Considering fully our society's particular features and traditions, we oppose total state ownership being replaced by just as much private ownership.

We are talking about setting up a mixed, multifaceted economy and the free development of all types of ownership, with emphasis on shareholding and leaseholding, making it possible to include increasingly broad strata of working people among the number of possessors, managers, and owners [vladeltsev, khozyayev, sobstvennikov].

Finally, it is uniquely important today that a market economy will enable the country to become an organic part of the world economy. For this it is necessary to have common rules of entrepreneurial activity; a free exchange of goods and resources; a stable currency; and, the main thing, a law-based civil society.

Only by providing all these conditions will be able to occupy our due place in the world division of labor and, thanks to this, to satisfy our own requirements more fully and to spend our natural riches more economically.

One would have thought these things obvious. But, by what tortuous ways and with what a delay are we coming to an understanding of these truths. What a monstrous price we have had to pay for a doctrinaire attitude and unlimited belief in ideological postulates and myths.

Remember how the Party received the new economic policy in the 1920s? The majority of Communists saw in it the downfall of their hopes, a step deleting long years of struggle and privations, prisons, and battlefronts. After all, not even four years had gone by since the October Revolution, and the war had only very recently ended in success. It seemed to many that the socialism they desired was within reach, suddenly, private enterprise, the formation of the cooperative system, syndicates, the right of entry to foreign concessions...There was talk of betrayal, the degeneration of the leaders and unfaithfulness to the cause of the proletariat. Many left the Party, and some committed suicide.

All of Lenin's authority and all his energy were needed to begin implementing this new course, which meant that it was possible to pull the country back from economic collapse, to put the peasant economy on its feet within a

short time, to improve the situation in the consumer sphere, and to obtain currency.

After Lenin, however, a gradual curtailing of this course started. This became especially apparent with the bread crisis in the late 20s. There was bread, and there was quite a considerable amount of it, but it became unprofitable for the peasants to sell it to the state. There were two ways of solving the problem that emerged: engage the economic levers—that is, deepen the new economic program—or have recourse to extraordinary measures based on force, which denied the way chosen by Lenin. Stalin and his entourage chose the second option, thereby, in fact, opting for the authoritarian-bureaucratic development model.

We must remember that cruel lesson of history and prevent the fateful mistake from occurring again.

A Program For Renewal

I will turn to characterizing the submitted project. The country's situation and the nature of the tasks facing us dictate the need to have a concise political document which clearly defines the CPSU's positions for the coming period and, first of all, to focus on overcoming the crisis, on economic and political stabilization, and on deepening reforms.

The main objective in the draft is to break away decisively from the outmoded ideological dogmas and stereotypes and to aspire to bring our philosophy and politics into accord with all the experience of the development and the vital requirements of the country and the people.

It is precisely for this reason that the section on principles which represent a certain result of comprehending our party's history and the history of the workers' and liberation movements was placed at the head of our program.

Not everything that was said here will be easily and simply accepted in party circles. We are talking, after all, about what, with full justification, could be called the new perception of reality, the new approach to the aims and methods of a political party's activity.

In the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the possibility for transforming the society on a fair basis was connected by the supporters of socialism mainly with a coup, by force, the establishment of the dictatorship of proletariat, with class struggle carried to elimination of the enemy classes.

It has long been time to accept that the epoch when the masses have no other means for improving their situation than storming the Bastille or Winter Palace has faded into the past.

The colossal improvements in productive forces allowing the living standard to be raised many times over and given a new quality, the new social structure, the achievements of democracy, the powerful political and trade union organizations, expressing the interests of the popular masses, the supreme danger of the consequences of social confrontation and a universal civil conflict, all this has made it both possible and necessary to achieve goals, revolutionary in their essence, through reforms.

The program's first section concludes that the CPSU, expressing the interests of the laborers, today acts as a party of democratic reforms, political and economic freedom, social justice and values common to all mankind, as a party actively fighting for general civil accord. I would say that these are the contemporary criteria for the political self-determination of the party and each of its members.

A new approach has also been adopted in the section defining the party's goals. In previous programs, the formulation of goals proceeded not so much from actual reality as from the understanding at that time of the Communist ideal. The requirement to view socialism as an actual historical movement was ignored. As a result, program goals were detached from the problems concerning society, and remained primarily in the sphere of "pure" ideology.

Now, the setting of aims derives organically from the practical experience of perestroyka. Many of them have already been enshrined in legislative documents of the union and the republics. In other words, we are not talking about utopian projects or yet another futile attempt to build castles in the air but about the fact that the democratic reforms which are under way should be completed successfully.

Preserving and renewing our union state as a democratic federation of sovereign republics, where the rights and freedoms of the citizens of all nationalities should be securely guaranteed; switching to a market economy with strong social protection; and modernizing the country and integrating it into the European and world economic space are among the most important policy aims.

Achieving the draft's aims depends, to a decisive extent, on creating conditions for independent actions by people and collectives and on involving personal interest, the most powerful motive force of progress.

The section dealing with whose interests the party expresses has turned out to be probably the most complicated one for the program commission. Of course, there is nothing simpler than saying that our party is for the entire people, as the 1961 program states. It was only like that simply because no other parties existed, and all those who wanted to participate in political life joined the CPSU.

Now that the multiparty system is becoming a reality in our country, the situation has changed fundamentally and the question of whose interests the party expresses must be raised and reconsidered. This is especially important because, to be plain, acute competition has now developed for influence over the masses. New

organizations in the workers' movement and among the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and other strata are trying to pressure the CPSU.

Discussion went on in the party press until the final day. Some demand a clear definition as the party of the working class. Others consider that the CPSU must be the party of the working people. Some defend the previous formula: a party of the whole people.

I think that reliable reference points are given in the draft. The party must express and defend the interests of the laborers. As the only all-union and multinational political force on which presently rests great responsibility for the country's destiny, we confirm our readiness to respect the rights to active public- political activities of all citizens, including those who do not share our political convictions.

Of course, stating this is far from having done everything. It is important that the working people themselves see in the CPSU their Party. Unfortunately, Communists' positions in workers' collectives and among part of the scientific, technical, and creative intelligentsia have recently weakened, and this is explained not only by the change to Article Six of the constitution.

The party committees will have to master in their activities the forms and methods enabling democratic institutions and mechanisms to protect the working people under new conditions. Of great importance will be the party's ability to interact with trade unions as equal partners and its skill to establish good links with workers' movement organizations created on the grass roots initiative.

The question of party influence among young people is critical. The times when this influence was exerted through compulsory Komsomol directives have faded into the past. The organization itself is going through the difficult process of searching for its niche in the youth movement.

Of course, a return to the old type of relations is out of the question. Giving constant attention to the Komsomol and spreading socialist consciousness in the youth movement is the direct duty of all party organizations. The program creates good opportunities for such work. Aiming at free development of the individual, initiative, enterprise, and openness to the world, all this will give the young generations a chance to lead a full and active life.

Reading over the draft after its distribution, I though that it would be worth reinforcing several of its main provisions. It is a good thing that every section of the working people will find its own specific demands in the program, but the Party, aspiring to an all-national role, cannot reduce all its goals to satisfying the interests of individual classes and groups. It also needs to aim to resolve tasks common to the whole country and people, without which prosperity is impossible for anyone.

This is, in the first place, the preservation and development of our state system, of our patriotic popular traditions; in the second place, the implementation of a democratic reformation of society which is called upon to take the country to the advanced frontiers of modern civilization; third, a consistent foreign policy directed toward guaranteeing peace and integrating the Soviet Union into the world community.

If I can express myself in this way, the all-national idea which forms the basis for the civil accord so necessary to us is embodied today within this triad.

The central place in the draft is occupied, naturally, by the section on the Party itself. The idea of the democratic power of the Party masses runs through it. A Party member has the right to expound his views freely, be he an atheist or a believer, by his own choice of work in one of the organizations or by supporting the Party in another way, and so on.

Here we are departing from the directives that were characteristic of the Party in its initial stages, when it, preparing for revolutionary battles, was formed as an organization with strict discipline and, in essence, with a militarized structure.

However, the renewal of the party in the spirit of contemporary ideas does not, of course, mean that it must turn into a formless organization incapable of implementing its own decisions.

The whole matter lies in the fact that political activity becomes fundamental for it. By propagating our views with the mass media's help, by working directly in labor collectives, by participating in democratic elections, and through our representatives in bodies of authority at various levels, thus and only thus do we conceive the realization of the Party's goals in the future.

A description of the CPSU's ideological basis ends the draft program. We were and remain adherents of the socialist organization of public life. In the past, the Party recognized only Marxism-Leninism as the source of its inspiration, while this doctrine itself was distorted to the extreme to suit the pragmatic purposes of the day and was turned into a kind of collection of cannonical texts.

It is now necessary to include in our ideological arsenal the riches of our and the world's socialist and democratic thought. Such an approach is dictated by the fact that the realization of the socialist idea and movement along the path of economic, social, and spiritual progress can be successfully implemented today only in the channel of the common development of civilization.

The aspirations of people for social justice, freedom, and democracy are inextinguishable. This, it can be said, is a global process during which countries, peoples, and political movements learn from the experience of each other and cooperate more and more.

I have no doubts that comrades paid attention to the fact that communism is merely mentioned in the program. It

should be recognized that our experience, and not only ours, provides no grounds for thinking that this aim is realistically attainable in the foreseeable future, but the communist idea—the free development of each person is the condition for the free development of all—has been and remains an attractive guideline for mankind.

In this regard, I should say that there were proposals, including those within the framework of the program commission, to change the Party's name to socialist or social-democratic, as it was called initially. Comrades justified such a proposal by the fact that the name of the Party that sets itself achievable aims should reflect the main vector of its policy, and today it is humane democratic socialism.

I feel there are millions of people in the party who link the whole of their life with the concept of communism. This cannot fail to be considered. In any case, an issue of such scale and importance must be tackled by a CPSU congress, and maybe even by an all-party referendum, and not in any other way.

On The Situation In The Party

A draft program can and should be examined in direct connection with the state of affairs within the Party. It is undergoing a crisis, maybe the most acute one in its whole history. The process of its renewal is going slowly and painfully.

According to preliminary data, on 1 July the CPSU numbered 15 million Communists, the same number as in 1973. Over one and one-half years, its numerical strength fell by 4.2 million people. Party organizations have suffered especially great losses in the republics where separatist movements have come to power. The majority of those who left the CPSU have given up political activity, and only 2 to 3 percent of them have gone over to other political parties and movements.

Under the conditions of a worsening economic situation and growing social tension, radicalist tendencies have become active and have started taking organizational shape. They treat the program statement of the 28th Congress as a nonbinding declaration.

Each thesis of the so-called Bolshevist Platform in the CPSU contains a blatant attempt at revising the Congress's directives. In the opinion of "Neo-Bolsheviks," the Party should again become the backbone of the state. Reform of the political system is deemed political sabotage against the people, while the democratization of the economy is branded as a return to the prerevolutionary setup. The terminology, too, is characteristic, with its calls for resolute struggle against opportunists, revisionists, neo-Mensheviks, national Communists, and social traitors.

The "Communist Initiative" movement champions largely similar propositions. Its inspirers do, by and large, reject diversity of ownership, do not acknowledge the need to reform society's political structures, and subject the state's foreign policy to tendentious criticism.

During discussion of programme questions in a number of party organizations, it is claimed that fundamental decisions are being made without consultation with the people or the party. This has been said since referenda started to be held in our country, and representative bodies at Union, republican, and local levels have been hard at work. As for the Party, during the year and a bit since the 28th CPSU Congress, there have been six Central Committee plenums, at which essentially all the vital problems of society have been freely and openly considered.

The "Communists for Democracy" movement, which announced its intention to transform itself into an alternative democratic Russian communist party, has arisen under the conditions of parliamentary struggle.

If one assesses the situation soberly, it is necessary to acknowledge that tendencies of various persuasions have already formed within the CPSU, each of which is seeking to give it its own orientation. At the same time, they are testing it to the breaking point through their activities. I want least of all to make groundless accusations against Communists who for various reasons are joining one tendency or another. In many instances, this is happening as a result of understandable dissatisfaction with how things are going in the country and in the Party itself. A serious reason pushing some comrades towards extreme and hasty conclusions is also the general political atmosphere in which the party must act.

As an organization at the helm of the state throughout the whole post-October period, the CPSU has become the principal object of criticism. Certain political forces are trying to use this for their own goals, directly or indirectly kindling anti-communist moods.

Our party indisputably bears responsibility for the fact that it was unable to erect a barrier to despotism and allowed itself to be used as an instrument of totalitarianism. But this in no way is a reason for casting a shadow on the activities of millions of communists of all generations who labored under the most difficult conditions for the good of the country and the people, and who gave their lives in the struggle for their homeland's independence.

The chief thing is that it was the Party which, after critically interpreting the results of social development and its own activity, became the initiator of very profound transformations directed at a radical renewal of society.

Emphatically rejecting the attacks on the party, we confirm its right under the new conditions and by methods characteristic of a political party in a democratic society and a law-governed state to act to defend the interests of the working people.

However, the party will lose all grounds for aspiring to participation in political life, even more so to the position of ruling party if it retreats from its course aimed at reforms and their consistent and resolute progress. In that event, it would really be threatened with defeat. It is very important that this be understood by those of our comrades who have fallen under the influence of various kinds of dogmatists, doctrinaires, and even open demagogues.

I would call upon all tendencies and platforms to assess self-critically the line of their behavior, moderate their emotions, and give priority to sober political calculation. Let me say forthrightly that a moderation of emotions is the prime condition. As never before, we now need good sense. It will be bad for everyone if the issue of the Party's destiny is resolved in an atmosphere of intense passions and political hysteria.

Of course, attempts to make peace based on the principle of "let us live in harmony" are no good to anyone. The departure from the CPSU of certain tendencies that oppose its strategic course and opt for direct infraction of the requirements set down in the rules will not only fail to harm the party but, quite the reverse, will strengthen it. Communists adhering to the positions of the 28th Congress will not allow themselves to be deflected from that path.

The time has come for everyone to declare themselves clearly. I think we should put the issue thus: Our party can continue to exist and operate only on the basis of a development of the course laid down by the 28th CPSU Congress and recognition of its new program. Those who have other views are free to choose.

Many party organizations are now proposing that an extraordinary party congress be convened. Evidently, in the situation that has evolved, it would be worth calling the congress for November-December. We exchanged views in the Politburo on this yesterday. It is important to have the time for a thorough discussion of the draft program. I would like to dwell in greater detail on this. After all, what we are talking about, in fact, is a party-wide discussion and the party's future, and consequently, the prospects for the reform and the future of the country will depend greatly on the manner in which it proceeds.

There are many new ideas in the draft program. It will not be easy for everybody to accept them and to give up prejudices that have taken root. Our theories in comprehending both home and especially world realities have fallen very much behind. Past schematics dominate public consciousness and prevent an understanding of the meaning of the changes taking place.

I would like to illustrate this on the issue of the so-called CPSU social-democratization. These accusations are aimed at us by representatives, I would say, of communist fundamentalism, who are unable to get out of the grip of dogmatic conceptions. They are also getting a response from some Communists who are seriously afraid of party "social-democratization".

These fears are based on ideological differences that appeared as long ago as during the years of the revolution and the civil war. Then, Communists and social democrats found themselves on the opposite sides of the barricades. Let historians deal with the upheavals of that time. It is absolutely clear that the criteria of the confrontation that appeared at that time—the attitude they adopted toward violence, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy and the role of socialist consciousness and political vanguard—have lost their former meaning.

We have changed and so has social democracy. The course of history has removed many problems that used to cause divisions in the workers' and democratic movement and among supporters of socialism. Those who now use "social-democratization" for the purpose of intimidation just distract our attention from the main enemy: antisocialist and nationalist-chauvinist trends.

The mastering of the new program entails a psychological revolution in the mental outlook and views of party members. All the party's intellectual potential must be involved in carrying out elucidatory work, and party organizations must be helped in holding discussions and seminars. Our party academic establishments are required to play an important role in this. The results of their being reformed are, to tell you the truth, not too noticeable.

The work of the party press will have to become more active and better targeted. It does not always stand up to the competition with publications of other political directions, and in some instances there is reason to speak of serious deviations from party positions. Of course, freedom of speech protected by the press law, broad scope for criticism and pluralism, all this is extended to party publications, too. However, if a newspaper is trying to discredit the CPSU's policy on a daily basis, then there is no reason to regard it as a party newspaper.

It is simpler, of course, to use populist methods for distancing oneself from difficult decisions that are inevitable in the course of implementing radical changes. But would it not be more productive to focus one's efforts on strengthening the prestige of the party by practical actions aimed at protecting the interests of the working people and at broadening its representation in the organs of power?

We all must realize again and again that, at the present stage of society's development, the CPSU can count on success namely as a party of political action.

In this regard, how is the decree adopted a few days ago by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president on the departization of state service and the halting of the activities of party organizations at enterprises and institutions to be regarded? A political evaluation of it

has been given in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo statement. I agree with those comrades who consider that the Plenum must express its attitude toward this document. No matter with what arguments this act is substantiated, it complicates an already conflict-saturated situation. This is by no means what society needs just now. We speak about concord but adopt documents that in deed can be used to the detriment of consolidation and of the emerging tendency toward a constructive solution of the difficult issues, which the whole of society expects.

The democratic rights of labor collectives, which express their interests and their positions through public organizations, have been addressed.

Insofar as in the given instance this concerns the rights of citizens and sociopolitical organizations, the USSR Committee of Constitutional Supervision must give its conclusion.

The USSR Supreme Soviet chairman yesterday sent the appropriate appeal to the Committee of Constitutional Supervision. No matter how events develop, there is no need to panic. No one has the right to forbid party work with labor collectives.

The current changes in society and the party are having a painful effect on the situation of many of our comrades, particularly workers in primary party organizations and local committees. I understand them. Yesterday, at the meeting with the first secretaries of the republican and oblast party committees, tension was communicated, as were the moods that are characteristic at the moment of the situation in the primary party organizations and local party committees. The comrades working there deserve the utmost support, moral, political, legal, and, if necessary, material. The central and local party bodies and institutions must concern themselves with this urgently.

On The Present Time And Party Policy

Discussing the program, we, of course, cannot abstract ourselves from the situation in society. The peak of the crisis has not passed. The changes on the consumer market have not yet arrived. From time to time, conflicts on an ethnic basis flare up. There are many difficulties and much disarray in the sphere of law and order. At the same time now, perhaps for the first time in recent months, signs of a turning point have appeared.

Any society and state are capable of developing normally only if there is a strong executive power resting on the support of the citizens. The latter absolutely requires the agreement of the basic political forces and their readiness to act together in the name of national interests.

A lot can be said about the reasons for the crisis that has arisen here, but I think no one will dispute that, to a considerable degree, it is a consequence of the contradictions between the participants in the political process; that is, collisions between the Union and the republics, between the republics themselves, between the CPSU and the newly arising parties and movements, and inside the latter. Here a special analysis is necessary, and I will not go deeply into this topic just now.

We have all been both conscious and often involuntary participants in the political skirmishes, which at times have been extremely acute. Fears for the very destiny of the state have arisen, not without foundation; at certain times in society, there has been talk of the threat of civil war and a military coup, the breakup of the Union, the establishment of a new dictatorship.

It is possible to argue how much all this has reflected reality, was stirred up artificially, or only reflected fears in light of the unpredictable development of events. However, the very fact that such fears have arisen in society and are far from being overcome makes one regard them most seriously. On this dramatic background, the significance of the so-called Novo-Ogarevo process stands out more boldly.

Strictly speaking, what is this about? Briefly speaking, at a stage of acute confrontation threatening to exceed any bounds, the basic political forces have been able to recognize their responsibility and agree on how to drag the country out of the crisis with common efforts.

No one has given up his principled positions or, if you like, his political originality; he has not lost his political personality. It is just that the possibility and necessity of acting on the basis of reasonable, mutually acceptable decisions has been acknowledged. Are there, in fact, any political aims that can justify confrontation leading to the disintegration of statehood and to disaster for the people!?

When the statement that was dubbed "nine-plus-one" appeared in the press, it might have seemed at first that it was only a one-shot enactment. Now, it is already clear to everyone that it marks the start of a process whereby the crisis may be gradually overcome, which the whole of society has been expecting with such impatience and hopes throughout the previous difficult months.

Of course, one cannot abandon oneself to illusion. That is out of the question for those who engage in politics. There are forces clearly discomforted by the civil concord that is taking shape. It has not grown to full strength itself and is being subjected to various trials. It will be absolutely hard and difficult to try to secure the harmonization of positions on concrete problems. Despite all this, there has appeared a real opportunity to bring the political process within the bounds of legality and within the functioning of the legal institutions of democracy, founded as a result of perestroyka, and to rule out the solving of problems by shouting crowds and cries of: "Down with...!"

Society should be confident in CPSU determination to follow strictly the course toward civil accord, although many attempts are now being made to provoke the CPSU into other actions, into another line of behavior.

We are ready for further discussion of all the complicated problems, for different forms of coalition-type cooperation and interaction with the parties and associations that are close to us in spirit, with all the democratic forces. We have the right to expect that the other political parties and movements will act with similar responsibility.

As is known, a meeting took place the day before yesterday between the heads of delegations empowered by the Supreme Soviets to complete work on the new Union treaty. The draft has been agreed upon; the final editing is in progress, after which it will be open for signing.

This will have great significance for stabilizing the situation, for restoring the state bodies to normal activity on the basis of clear division of powers between the republics and the Union. At the meeting, I reported on my talks and conversations with the participants in "the Seven" in London. Their results have important significance. A start has been made to the USSR's organic inclusion into the world economy. Areas of business interaction with a view to modernizing our energy and communications systems, agriculture, consumer goods production, organization of small and medium-sized enterprises and market infrastructure, and so on have been agreed upon, in principle.

Intensive work will, of course, be required to master new methods of cooperation. There will be a need to change many of our economic mechanisms that are still far from meeting world standards, to train cadres, and to give up prejudices. In this respect, the energetic support of the main political forces, including our party, is important.

We lag behind the economically developed countries first and foremost in up-to-date, high-level technologies; organization of the market; and economic mechanisms ensuring efficient production and and an equally reliable satisfaction of society's needs. Our striving for deeper economic cooperation encounters, on the whole, a positive attitude.

This, if you like, shows a realization of the fact that the era has passed when one state's loss turned into other states' gain. In an interdependent and integral world, any country's difficulties threaten to turn into losses for the whole community. This is so even more when it is a question of a state occupying one-sixth of the land surface and possessing vast natural and human resources; scientific, technological, and production potential; and military might.

Since the leaders of all the republics advocating the preservation and renewal of our union assembled at Novo-Ogarevo, we exchanged views on urgent economic problems: the gathering in and preservation of the harvest, preparations for the winter, and a number of other matters.

The question of providing food is very acute now. A severe drought has struck a number of oblasts of Kazakhstan and other regions of the country. In the next few days, we must define practical measures to deal with the food question so as not to permit an exacerbation of the situation.

Comrades! More than anything, Communists, who are certain to be following the work of the plenum now with fixed attention, want to know the answer to the question: "What is to be done?" This answer, and quite a specific one, is contained—it seems to me—in the new draft program that the Party congress will adopt.

The situation is such that there should be no procrastination in our practical deeds. It is important today for us to start striving to put our intended objectives into practice.

The party does not possess its former commanding heights. Consequently, it is possible and necessary to act by political methods, to go to people, persuade them, and to fight for the election of our representatives to bodies of authority and, where this is unsuccessful, to make up a constructive opposition, supporting the authorities' sensible measures and opposing them when this is necessary to defend the interests of the working people.

In conclusion, the situation is complex, but we have a real chance to consolidate the Party on the basis of the new program as a powerful political force, expressing the socialist aspirations of the masses of the peoples. This chance must not be allowed to slip away.

TASS Reviews Address

LD2507151691 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—In his address to the plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee that opened in Moscow today, Soviet party and state leader Mikhail Gorbachev urged the party to renounce its claims to the role of the "backbone of the state" and strongly criticised representatives of "communist fundamentalism."

Gorbachev accused the recently "established "Bolshevik Platform within the CPSU" and the "Communist Initiative" movement of "openly attempting to revise" the course of the 28th party congress towards promoting reform.

According to Gorbachev, representatives of these trends "reject the diversity of forms of ownership, do not recognise the need to reform political structures of society and subject the state's foreign policy to tendentious criticism."

Gorbachev emphasised that "the party can continue to exist and act only on" the basis of developing the course of the 28th party congress and recognising its new programme."

Describing the draft party programme, Gorbachev remarked that its main feature is a "resolute departure from outdated ideological dogmas and stereotypes."

Gorbachev stated that the CPSU's ideological basis should contain "the entire wealth of domestic and world socialist and democratic thought", rather than Marxism-Leninism alone.

This approach is dictated by the circumstance that "the implementation of the socialist idea and the movement along the way of economic, social and spiritual progress can be a success today only within the framework of the overall development of civilisation."

Gorbachev proposed convening an extraordinary congress of the Communist Party in November-December this year following an all- party discussion of the draft programme.

Reactions to Report

LD2507124491 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—The morning session of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's plenary meeting that opened in the Kremlin today began with a speech by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev about a new draft of the party programme.

Four people took part in the debates before the first break. The speakers represented city and republican party organisations.

The TASS correspondent talked with some participants in the plenary meeting during the break.

In the opinion of Otto Latsis, deputy chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST, Gorbachev "came up with a good justification for a party programme."

"I think that he chose the correct position, but I fear that it does not enjoy full support at the plenum. The few statements that have already been made indicate that the debate will be very sharp," Latsis said.

Gorbachev criticised Russian President Boris Yeltsin's "de-partisation" decree "sufficiently definitely but calmly," Latsis pointed out.

Practically all speakers raised this issue and it was decided to put on the plenum agenda the question of adopting a resolution on the decree.

"So far it seems that Mikhail Gorbachev has assumed control over the plenum, which I'm pleased to note," said Pavel Bunich, president of the Union of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs.

"Fierce battles could have been expected, but so far this has not happened," he remarked.

Even the head of the Moscow party organisation, Yuri Prokofyev, whom Bunich describes as "an active opponent" of the party leader, "spoke from far more conciliatory positions" today.

The second noteworthy element present in Gorbachev's remarks, Bunich said, was his thesis "about rapprochement with social democracy."

"He said with confidence that we are moving closer to social democracy, and the audience swallowed this remark," Bunich observed. It was no accident either that the party leader "failed to mention the Democratic Reform Movement." "The fact that he did not criticise the movement, although many expected him to, can be interpreted as implicit support."

Aleksandr Buzgalin, leader of the Marxist platform within the CPSU, believes that "everything is neutrally quiet" at the plenum. This had been clear from "the draft programme in which the abundance of generalities does not allow for the solution of the problem of really reviving the party."

In essence, he remarked, "the bureaucratic policy under communist slogans is being replaced with a bureaucratic policy under social democratic slogans."

"Contrary to expectations, the beginning of the plenum was calm," said Nikolay Stolyarov, chairman of the Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party. Nonetheless, speakers in the debate "in fact rejected the programme proposed by the Gorbachev-led editorial commission."

If the draft programme is not adopted, Stolyarov believes, "the party will have no future." Still, he thinks that the proposed draft "will be supported by the majority, although this will not be easy" to achieve.

According to Stolyarov, none of the speakers has so far demanded the resignation of Gorbachev as party leader.

Gennadiy Zyuganov, member of the Politburo of the Russian Communist Party, expressed hope that Gorbachev's draft programme "will be substantially amended with due account for constructive suggestions to be made at the plenum."

He added that the general secretary was "rather self-critical in assessing the work done."

'Fight' Reported at Session

OW2607060491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The General Secretary and USSR President's aide and member of the Comunist party's Central Committee Georgiy Shakhnazarov has expressed an opinion that a fight is going on at the current plenary session in Moscow to turn the CPSU into "a radical, democratic, left-wing

party." He was speaking in an interview with the INTERFAX correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov.

"The discussion at the plenum shows two groups or political trends are emerging and they are sure to divorce," predicted G. Shakhnazarov. Some members of the Central Committee held views, he stressed, completely incompatible with his own. "I am against, for instance, keeping the notion of the CPSU as an advance-guard party. it should be a real political party. The 'advance-guard' phrase was very meaningful implying that since the party got a mandate to power in 1917, it could hold it without recourse to the people, that is, in fact, illegitimately. Restructuring has changed, democratized, our society and requires a change in those set notions."

"Some of the speakers were against permitting religious members in the party. But I think," said G. Shakhnazarov, "that would mean a return to past intolerance when churches were destroyed. There are other positions that are quite unacceptable. But political differences needn't mean an end to our cooperation as citizens of the same country," concluded the aide of M. Gorbachev.

'Stormy Debates' Predictions 'Refuted'

LD2507150191 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—The course of the Soviet Communist Party plenum has so far refuted the viewpoint of some commentators who predicted stormy debates and sensational developments.

Here is a cross-section of opinions expressed by participants in the plenum in interviews with TASS.

"I was even surprised to see that the plenum is proceeding so quietly. I expected views to be sharply divided," said Boris Gidaspov, chief of the Leningrad party organisation.

So far there has been no demand for the resignation of the party leadership, he said. However, Gidaspov and several other speakers at the plenum remarked that "whether we like it or not, the question of separating the posts of general secretary and president can be raised at the forthcoming extraordinary congress of the CPSU."

The question concerning the "Democratic Reform Movement" was not raised at the plenum since "no one takes it seriously", Gidaspov believes.

Commenting on the draft party programme presented by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, Gidaspov said that the document "is so general in character that anyone could sign it."

The only notable omission in the draft was the expression "socialist choice", he added.

"Expectations that the plenum would begin with sharp, scandalous attacks and demands for the resignation of the party leadership have not not materialised," said historian Roy Medvedev.

Nonetheless, the discussion of the party programme, he said, "revealed two viewpoints: Some believe that the programme fits as a basis for discussion, others—the minority of those who took the floor—think that the programme is no good as a basis, since it is a very watered down document."

"At this point I am not satisfied with the discussion because absolute priority belongs to secretaries of party committees. The party is not only secretaries of regional and district committees," said USSR Information Minister Mikhail Nenashev.

"In many cases they look at the party's place and role and its concerns from their own functionary positions, separating the party from all processes taking place in society," he remarked.

The plenum is not discussing the issue of why the party is losing influence and the confidence of the people, Nenashev observed.

Gorbachev stated in his report today that the number of party members was five million down in the past 18 months, Nenashev said. "These are huge losses. Why are they happening? I think that the reason is that the party is inactive. Nevertheless, this is not being discussed at the plenum."

Nenashev described as "illusory" the hopes that an extraordinary congress can resolve all problems facing the party. "If no programme supported by broad masses of communists is presented to the congress, it will amount to nothing," he said.

The plenum continues its work.

Lukyanov Defends Supreme Soviet

LD2607105691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Our political commentator, Yuliy Semenov, who is covering the work of the CPSU Central Committee plenum reports that discussion of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech on the new draft party program has been completed. The resolution on this issue is to be published in the press.

Ten people spoke in today's debates. The speech by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov aroused the most interest among the plenum's participants. In particular, he expressed concern about the exclusion of the soviets which is taking place in several towns and regions in the country by means of strengthening executive authority and setting up new structures.

He spoke against attacks on the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Union's Congress of People's Deputies which, in

his view, remain the guarantors of legality in the country. He also expressed his interest in the party's keeping its representative in the highest state post in the country, putting this belief in roughly these words: The party cannot exist without a president, and there cannot be a president without the party.

Now the issues relating to the matter of submitting CPSU candidates to the USSR people's deputies in place of those who have given up their seats is being discussed, as are attitudes regarding the Russian president's decree on departyization. A rejoinder by the Central Committee General Secretary was devoted today to criticism of this decree, as were the speeches of several of the plenum's participants.

This afternoon a press conference is expected in the Central Committee press center at which conclusions are to be drawn about the plenum's work.

Leaders Predict Outcome

LD2507132991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 91 p 1

[Unattributed "Forecast" feature citing Vyacheslav Kopyev, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Yevgeniy Kogan, from the "Soyuz" deputies' group; Dmitriy Vasilyev, from "Pamyat"; Aleksandr Zolotov, from the "Communist Initiative" movement; and O. Rumyantsev, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Russia: "What Will Happen After the Plenum?"]

[Text]

Vyacheslav Kopyev, Secretary of the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] Central Committee:

To my mind, a likely outcome of the plenum could be a decision to convene a routine (or extraordinary?) CPSU congress, which will adopt a new Program. That is, of course, if there is not another attempt to remove M. Gorbachev from the post of general secretary...

Unfortunately very little attention is paid to young people and their problems in the drafts of the CPSU Program that we have seen. The fact that young people have always played a decisive role in revolutionary transformations is being ignored. Whether this is a constructive or destructive role is another matter... The Komsomol is the object of their [antecedent unclear] attention and interest. We have been invited to meetings with senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee and with leaders of the Movement for Democratic Reform.

Yevgeniy Kogan, "Soyuz" Deputies' Group

Nothing will happen after the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Regardless of what happens there, the party will split, but it has not been tackling anything for a long time anyway...

Now the front line is elsewhere. We have stated that we intend to convene an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies and hear an accountability report by the USSR President.

Dmitriy Vasilyev, "Pamyat":

What else can the Communists do? Lead the country to dictatorship—some lout will appear with an ax and put an end to all this verbiage... The Communists have sown chaos—some of them are now chalking up political points, changing their colors, others are lining their pockets by laundering party money in various "Menateps" [private commercial enterprises]. Thousands of parties and movements of every kind... All this will end in just another dictatorship, and it is not out of the question that it will be a communist one.

Aleksandr Zolotov, "Communist Initiative" movement:

What will happen after the plenum? That depends on its outcome. The most important question is the adoption of the CPSU Program as the basis for the consolidation of Communists. Several versions were proposed, including one from our movement. But there was no real discussion or debate—the drafts were not even published. I fear that the official, anonymous version will pass through the plenum, which will in fact enshrine the Communist Party's elimination and its disintegration. There will be two reactions among the communists: There will be those who bided their time and swam with the current—they will heave a sigh of relief and leave; whereas those who remain Communists will create their own organization.

O. Rumyantsev, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Russia:

I think that we are witnessing the formation of a post-communist multiparty system. Instead of one CPSU there are three. I would designate them as follows. The bad one headed by Polozkov. The middle one headed by Gorbachev. And the good one headed by Yakovlev and Shevardnadze.

Evidently Gorbachev's strategic policy is to unite the "middle" CPSU and the "good" one. But later rather than now, probably in the period of the preparation for and holding of elections for the new Union Parliament and the president. The present plenum is one of the parts in the CPSU's long strategic preparation for victory at the upcoming Union elections.

Economist on Gorbachev Support

OW2607052991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1888 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee is going on in "a calm and ordinary atmosphere," acording to Pavel Bunich, a leading economist and member of the Central Committee, who has given an

interview to the INTERFAX correspondent V. Terekhov. This is due, in his opinion, to the preliminary meeting of party cells' secretaries which is said to have "let off steam."

But the main reason for this calm is—says Bunich—in the two-thirds majority for Gorbachev, including those who hesitate. "Gorbachev is so confident that he can afford going out from time to time," explains Bunich. "No one has demanded Gorbachev's resignation as General Secretary, unlike at the last Plenum. There's no active support for the worst criticism of the draft programme which is likely to be passed as a basis for further work."

The central event, comments Pavel Bunich, was the report by Mikhail Gorbachev containing the idea of converging communists and social-democrats. "I think," continued Bunich, "that it wasn't by chance Gorbachev said nothing about the Democratic Reforms Movement." Bunich stressed that in this situation silence means plucking enough courage to say "yes."

Pavel Bunich noted as clear progress in the report that the General Secretary actually suggested that conservatives should leave the party, instead of supporting their demand that democrats should do so.

By sharply criticizing the so-called Initiative Congress of Bolsheviks Movement led by Nina Andreyeva, M. Gorbachev gave a clear rebuff to obscurantist politcal forces—noted Bunich.

Participants Comment

LD2507213291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1840 GMT on 25 July carries a 9-minute "Topical Report" program consisting of a series of interviews with participants in the CPSU Central Committee plenum by correspondent Sergey Medvedev.

Medvedev begins by interviewing Vladimir Viktorovich Grigoryev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, who believes that the program presented to the CPSU Central Committee forms a good basis. Its aim is to improve people's lives he says. Medvedev then goes on to ask about the party leadership issue as follows:

Medvedev: "Was the party leader discussed today?"

Grigoryev: "Today the party leader was discussed. The idea was expressed that we must now think about putting forward new people, young people, at the CPSU congress."

Medvedev: "Candidatures?"

Grigoryev: "Yes, candidatures. Perhaps, to look at them at the next CPSU Central Committee plenum. It is not a question of just one leader. I think that we need many leaders and, as it were, bearing this in mind, make a choice."

Medvedev: "Well, and my last question. The third point on the agenda is organizational matters. What does this imply?"

Grigoryev: "Well, organizational matters, refers to what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said when he opened the plenum about Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze ceasing to be a central committee member and Silayev handing in a statement of his resignation from the CPSU Central Committee. So, I think that these matters will be examined."

The program shows video of the Central Committee plenum in session and Grigoryev being interviewed.

Medvedev then goes on to talk to Boris Venyaminovich Gidaspov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Leningrad Party Oblast Committee first secretary. The conversation runs as follows:

Medvedev: "Boris Venyaminovich, as far as I know, you were one of hte opponents of the CPSU program put forward today. Why?"

Gidaspov: "I will tell you why. There are quite a lot of opponents to the program. Here I was not only and not so much expounding my own point of view as the viewpoints of Leningrad Communists expressed at our last extended plenum of the Leningrad party Oblast Committee. What about the program? In itself the program is not a bad one. But, I would call it in modern terms universal [bezrazmernoy]. A considerable part of this program has been borrowed from the decisions in the 28th CPSU Congress. But words from there such as socialist choice have been removed. As a result, it has turned not just into a social democratic, but into a real liberal program. I will allow myself to say that even Shevardnadze would be prepared to sign this program. And if Ligachev read it, he would probably sign this program."

Stating his objections to the program, Boris Gidaspov goes on to explain that there were mistakes in socialism and that very many countries chose socialism. He attacks the theory of Christian communism, saying that the two ideologies of christianity and communism are contradictory. He also disagrees with the provision in the program to the effect that a communist is not obliged to participate in the work of a party organization. Nevertheless, he thinks that the program will be approved by a majority, and he will also vote for it.

Mikhail Semenovich Surkov, identified as a military Central Committee member, considers that the program shoul dbe adopted as a basis. But he believes that the historical part of the program is weak.

A.A. Denisov says that almost everything should be borrowed by the party from social democracy, although Marx was right in historical materialism, which has been completely justified in the West, which has been turning into a socialist society since the 1930s.

The program ends.

Divisions Over Program Viewed

LD2507212291 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Participants in the Soviet Communist Party plenum which opened in Moscow today had differences over a new party programme prepared by a commission led by Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

"The draft programme is neither a document giving a new vision of the party's theoretical basis, nor a programme of action," Moscow Party Chief Yuri Prokofiev said.

"Duality, estrangement and isolation from reality characterise both the programme and the situation in party life," he said, blaming "a revolution from above implemented by party nomenklatura and liberal scientific elite since the middle of 1987."

"The draft is another step, and a big one, to ideological and organisational weakening of the communist movement in the country," Leningrad Party Leader Boris Gidaspov said.

However, several speakers supported the draft.

Neither of the alternative drafts is better than the official blueprint, Professor Vladimir Kalashnikov of Leningrad said.

"If we fail to endorse the document, we will only fuel debate and get a document much the same," he said.

Most speakers in the afternoon called on the forum to endorse the draft in principle.

Summing up debate at the plenum actor Mikhail Ulyanov said that "the struggle is not acute, but very sluggish".

"We are holding on exclusively due to the 'centrist' position that keeps the frail pyramid of pragmatists and idealists, radicals and conservatives, the right and the left from falling," he said.

Opening Day Reviewed

PM2507215791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 91 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A routine CPSU Central Committee plenum opened 25 July 1991. The following questions were submitted for the plenum's examination:

1. On the draft CPSU program and party organizations' tasks in discussing it.

2. On the nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU to fill vacancies.

3. Organizational questions.

4. On the attitude to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidential decree "On the Cessation of the Activities of Organizational Structures of Political Parties and Mass Social Movements in State Organs, Institutions, and RSFSR Organizations."

A report on the first point on the plenum agenda was delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Members of the CPSU Draft Program Preparatory Commission set up by the 28th CPSU Congress, members of the CPSU Central Control Commission, first secretaries of union republic communist party central committees and republic, kray, oblast, and okrug party committees, and secretaries of CPSU party committees in the Armed Forces who are not members of CPSU central elective organs are taking part in the plenum.

The following spoke in the debates: L.I. Khitrun, first secretary of Ryazan CPSU Obkom [Oblast Party Committee]; G.I. Yeremey, first secretary of the Communist Party of Moldova Central Committee; V.V. Sekretaryuk, first secretary of Lvov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom; Yu.A. Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow CPSU City Committee; B.V. Gidaspov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom; K. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]; A.N. Ilin, second secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee; D.A. Abdullayev, rector of the Tashkent Electrotechnical Communications Institute, Uzbek SSR; V.T. Chuykov, mason at the Poltavskiy Rayon Road Repair and Construction Unit, Ukrainian SSR; M.S. Surkov, secretary of the All-Army CPSU Party Committee; V.V. Kalashnikov, faculty chief at the V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin) Electrotechnical Institute in Leningrad; V.G. Anufriyev, second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; A.A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; A.P. Proskurin, link leader of a leasehold link on the "Druzhba" Sovkhoz, Novgorod Oblast; L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Economics Institute and adviser to the USSR president; Ye.N. Makhov, acting chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission; A.G. Babayev, president of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences; A.A. Pomorov, first secretary of Tomsk party obkom; A.S. Grachev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; M.M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; K.A. Nikolayev, foreman at the "Mosstroymekhanizatsiya" No. 3 Trust's No. 42 Mechanization Administration; G.P. Kharchenko, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; A.A. Denisov,

member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of a USSR Supreme Soviet commission; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; E.A. Sillari, first secretary of the Estonian (Independent) Communist Party Central Committee; O.I. Lobov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; and V.D. Popov, chief editor of the journal DIALOG.

The plenum set up editorial commissions to prepare the plenum documents.

The CPSU Central Committee will continue 26 July.

Luchinskiy: Split Did Not Materialize

LD2507194691 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—"Forecasts that the Soviet Communist Party will split at the plenum did not materialise," Politburo member Petr Luchinskiy told reporters today, commenting on the results of the first day of the forum.

The plenum discussed a draft party programme, nominations to soviet people's deputies from the CPSU, organisational issues, and a report by Central Committee Secretary Yuriy Manayenkov about the state of the communist movement in Estonia, Luchinskiy said.

Commission was set up to prepare a plenum statement on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree on departyisation.

Twenty-seven people spoke at the plenum. They mostly spoke about the draft programme. Despite numerous critical remarks, most of them said that the draft could be adopted in principle.

A new party programme will be adopted at a special party congress planned for November or December. Most speakers at the plenum supported this proposal, according to Luchinskiy.

"The atmosphere was more tolerable than previously," he said.

"Participants in the plenum took the Russian president's decree with restraint, avoiding loud speeches and excessive dramatisation," Luchisnkiy said.

The plenum will continue on Friday.

INTERFAX on Plenum

OW2607060591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Special INTERFAX correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov reports from the current plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow.

The plenary session continues the discussion of the party's programme. More than ten speakers addressed the session before 2 p.m. The first two hours were marked with sharp criticism, later somewhat toned down. Most speakers proposed to adopt the draft programme as a basis for further work in the comission to be passed down to party cells for discussion. None of the speakers opposed convening a party congress this coming autumn, though many pointed out the vague character of the programme under discussion. The 1st secretary of the Leningrad regional party committee Boris Gidaspov commented that the "draft carefully avoids the words 'socialist choice,' but contains many nebulous premises and declarations pronounced ever since the 28th Congress." "This programme can't be called either communist, or social-democratic," went on Boris Gidaspov, "It's just liberal and would suit anyone from social-democrats to those who hold communism as a sort of social ideal." Boris Gidaspov warned that irrespective of any personal wishes the coming Congress may raise the question of separating the posts of General Secretary and President. We must be ready for that "not to be taken unawares."

On behalf of the army communists an address was made by Lieutenant-General Mikhail Surkov, member of the Political Bureau. He supported passing the draft programme as a basis for discussion in the party chapters. He objected, though, to some vague clauses on the party ideology.

He attacked the decree by RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin on departyization. In his opinion, the decree violates human rights. he called the step "hypocritical" since "while hampering the work of the Communist Party, Boris Yeltsin is calmly watching his Vice- President forming a new party specially for him."

Further M. Surkov appealed from the plenum's rostrum to Eduard Shevardnadze "to go to Tbilisi and help the Georgian people." "It's easier, of course, to talk in New York of love for his people and devotion to Mikhail Gorbachev," went on M. Surkov, "but if those words are worth anything, it's in Georgia he should be fighting now for the happiness of the Georgian people and for the success of Mikhail Gorbachev's cause."

Discussions Follow Report's 'Channels'

LD2507152591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1330 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] [Announcer] We begin with a major all-Union piece of news. Yuliy Semenov, our special correspondent, has just come on the line. He is watching the progress of the plenum of the party's Central Committee. Please go ahead:

[Semenov] Good day. You know this is the first time I can remember as a journalist that we have reported like this from the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, from here in the Kremlin, from one of the rooms adjacent to the hall where the plenum sitting is taking place. To get

down to the main details the main discussion [words indistinct] at the plenum of the issue of the draft new program of the CPSU. [Words indistinct] the plenum participants that this is the eighth version of the draft, if one counts the various preliminary versions and the alternative ones, but it is the one that was circulated among the plenum participants and is being discussed today.

The report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev can be divided into two main sections: the first one includes the reasons and the grounds for the program itself and its basic, specific provisions; and the second part is an analysis of the situation in the party. The situation is assessed as complicated. The rapporteur spoke critically of the radical trends in the party, such as the Bolshevik platform and the initiative movement. He also gave an assessment, as the rapporteur, put it of the communist fundamentalists and the Communists for Democracy movement.

If one is to speak about the task that was set in the theoretical and ideological sense, then this is formulated as follows: to use the whole of the wealth of socialist and democratic thought. But as far as accusations of social democratism and the limited nature of the program in that way are concerned, the rapporteur rejected these accusations. The report itself contained a proposal that further work be done on this draft, taking into account the observations expressed at the plenum, that it should be put before the communists for discussion, and that it be discussed in November-December at an extraordinary congress—it will be the 29th congress—of the CPSU. And in principle, as far as I am able to judge the mood of the participants in the plenum, this proposal for the holding of such a congress was supported.

Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow city committee, made a proposal for a specific date for convening such a congress—18 November.

Overall it has to be said that the discussion is proceeding within the channels marked out in the report. Speakers included well-known party leaders, such as Prokofyev, whom I have already mentioned; Gidaspov, the leader of the Leningrad party organization; Yeremey, first secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of Moldova; Ilin, second secretary of the Russian Communist Party; and secretaries of oblast committees. Chuykov, a worker from the Poltava oblast, spoke, as did Kalashnikov, head of a faculty at one of the Leningrad higher educational institutes; there were various speeches, and it has to be said according to the information we are getting, virtually every speech contained a definite critical element but the nature of the criticism was surprisingly calm because I know that there were various expectations before the plenum. It is comparatively calm and fairly constructive. It has to be said that there are many serious observations about the draft program, but at the time I went on the air, as far as we know, there were no proposals that the draft program should be rejected in principle.

[Announcer] So it is evidently to the liking of all participants in the plenum, is that right, in principle?

[Semenov] Yes, although the critical observations that are being made include remarks that it is too general, that it fails to take into account this and that. But I get the feeling— and you know it is still a preliminary one—that this fear of a breaking away, of a split, of dissociation, of a weakening in the position of the party has nevertheless prevailed, and what is predominating therefore is this well-considered approach and this desire to consolidate as much as possible.

[Announcer] Was any assessment made at the plenum of the Russian decree on departyization?

[Semenov] At the moment all I can say is that when the agenda was being discussed at the very beginning, proposals were put forward that information should be heard about the situation in the Estonian Communist Party, in the Communist Party of Estonia—evidently this is going to be heard—and that a statement should be adopted on behalf of the plenum in connection with this decree you have mentioned. Well, no doubt I will not be surprising either you or the listeners if I voice the assumption that evidently the statement will be critical with regard to the decree. But that's all so far.

[Announcer] The Politburo of the Central Committee has already expressed itself in this connection, so we can hardly expect anything else.

[Semenov] The work of the plenum is initially scheduled to take two days, and I think that by our joint efforts we will be able to inform listeners about how it continues its work.

CPSU Urged To Pursue 'Rational Goals'

PM2607105591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by Nikolay Andreyev under "Political Diary rubric: "Tolerance is A Survival Opportunity. A United and Indivisible CPSU Does Not Exist Today. There Are Ever More Pretenders to Supreme Marxist-Leninist Wisdom"]

[Text] Society is not indifferent to what happens within the CPSU. The political weight of this party is too great to observe with composure the considerably contradictory processes which the party, not experiencing its best times at the moment, is going through. The situation is also complicated by the fact that society itself is in an extremely insecure state; it is divided—by "left-wingers," "right-wingers," conservatives, and democrats—into conflicting groupings, groups, and strata which are inimicably and irreconcilably disposed to one another. World outlooks and economic and political views are polarized to such an extent and reveal so much fanaticism, ambition, and poverty of thought, that after the latest spate of passions you thank fate that so far it is words, not bullets, that are whistling past your temples.

The last two weeks have been marked by persistent calls from certain party committees and individual communists for M. Gorbachev, as general secretary, to be called to account. "Gorbachev bears personal responsibility for the drastic deterioration of the lives of the working people. So is it possible to entrust him any longer with the leadership of the party and the country?" N. Merzlikin, first secretary of Chita RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Obkom [oblast committee] asks, and himself replies: "Of course not." At a meeting with the party and economic aktiv of the Zemgale region a demand was heard for M. Gorbachev to be expelled from the party. The Leningrad RSFSR Communist Party Obkom Ideological Commission has also demanded the expulsion of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee from Communist ranks. "I see Gorbachev today as a man who is aware of his own bankruptcy, but wants to 'save face' and thereby go down in history as the creator of the 'new political thinking'... I think that the party leadership cannot be in the hands of such a man"—this from a speech at the recent joint plenum of CPSU Moscow Gorkom [city committee] and the Control Commission.

Nothing new in these demands, it would seem. Suffice to recall the plenums of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, in which such calls were a regular feature. Indeed, quite a few speeches accusing M. Gorbachev of apostasy and wrecking the party and the state were heard at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in February of this year as well. And he was accused of doing this purposefully, so to speak, malevolently and systematically. How far this is from the truth is easy to prove. Suffice to read any of the speeches of M. Gorbachev, the general secretary and president.

The point is not, I think, whether the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has waived his principles or not. Society, the party, and the economy were sick long before M. Gorbachev came to power. Possibly the remedies he has proposed have not been successful. More accurately, the prescriptions were contradictory, the effects inconsistent. But did everything depend on M. Gorbachev? Is it not the case that party functionaries are trying to discharge all their incompetence, all their inability to control the political situation onto him? Their irritation intensified after the recent ignobly lost elections. Moreover, who stopped A. Rubriks or Yu. Prokofyev from acting in ways that would cause the masses to say: Yes, these leaders speak our language, this party expresses our aspirations? M. Gorbachev is accused of wrecking the party. But was it really so weak that one man was able to rout the multimillion army of Communists? But perhaps the cause of the furious attacks on M. Gorbachev is that he has not and will not allow scope to the forces within the party who would like to return it to its old lines?

Even as things are the CPSU on some positions looks to public opinion like a bulwark of conservatism and hackneyed views. And many of its members simply fail to understand that the Communist Party no longer dictates the terms of political life. And the following lines, which came from Belgorod, cannot be explained by anything but an absence of political realism: "Conscious of their responsibility before present and future generations and before the Motherland, Communists of the oblast party organization appeal to the CPSU Central Committee to rally the whole party, all Communists and supporters of the CPSU, and all who hold the interests of the people dear to the defense of socialist values."

Again—to the field! Again—into battle! Is peace to be just a dream? It goes without saying that the Belgorod Communist Party Obkom is free to come forward with all the appeals it likes and to defend its views unreservedly. But flights of agitation thought must be measured against the mood of the masses. There was a party tradition that Communist leaders would not take the floor unless it were "in the name of, and at the behest of all the people." But even in former times when the people were seen as some kind of mighty monolith, unanimously and wholeheartedly supporting the wise line of the CPSU leadership, they did not give this right to speak in their name to anyone. Still less so today.

But after all, they are probably seriously convinced in the Belgorod CPSU Obkom that they need only sound the rallying call and the people will run hell for leather after them. But the real point is still that a single and indivisible Communist Party no longer exists today. There are several currents within it (V. Ivashko counts up to 10), and the further you look, the more discrepancies there are between them. And each of these currents insists on its right to be considered truly Marxist-Leninist. For example, the Marxist Platform's conference spoke out against factionalism, and condemned on this charge representatives of the association "Marxism XXI." In its turn this association condemned Marxist Platform for political inflexibility. There is also the Marxist Workers' Party, which insists on its primogenital Marxism and intends to convene a congress of workers' and peasants' deputies to invest it with authoritative functions. How can we tell which of these is more Marxist, which less, or which is more "valued by mother history"? [quotation from Mayakovsky's poem, "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin"]

Pretenders to the supreme Marxist-Leninist wisdom keep coming along. Among them the most inflexible are the representatives of the supercommunist-Bolshevik platform within the CPSU. They held their congress recently in Minsk, where they asserted their goal (I quote from the program statement) of "returning to the CPSU its organizational and political identity and the ideological and moral role of the vanguard of the working people in their battle for the construction of socialism and a Communist society." A simply irrepressible thirst to be without fail the vanguard of all the people, to lead it, and decide what is harmful for it and what beneficial.

Another current has recently formed—"Communists for Democracy," which was started by A. Rutskoy. "We are the party of decisive democratic action!" the initiators' appeal says. Democratic Platform failed to make its

mark a year ago in many ways because the attempt to do so was made mainly by people of a theoretical turn of mind. Now parliamentarians have taken up the task. It goes without saying that there are also people who are ready to pronounce anathema on this platform. Especially since A. Rutskoy has given grounds for serious accusations: He has stated that "Communists for Democracy" will lay claim to part of the party's property.

The world has become complex. More exactly, it never was simple. It simply suited the old system to simplify it into a "black and white" scenario. It was simpler to govern when there was one idea, one party, and one line of behavior for all. This ended in stagnation of thought, of the economy, and of politics. Today we are learning to live in a complex, rapidly changing world. Society contains a huge field of interests. And multiparty democracy, with all its shortcomings, in its best form does nevertheless enable the interests of many, if not all the strata of society to be taken into consideration and brought into harmony. And the party with the most chances of success with people is the one which is the most tolerant, not only toward political rivals, but also toward its own members. Tolerance is not simply an indication of political culture, but a survival opportunity for us all. Irrespective of convictions or political predilections.

Back at the beginning of the 1930s, Kh. Rakovskiy said: "All attempts to reform the party through the efforts of the apparatus are doomed to failure." This conclusion is written organically into our activity too. Society will make great gains in the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum only if the discussion in it demonstrates that party of realists, not utopians is declaring its right to power. Judging by the draft CPSU program, the party will recognize the realities of the time and plan rational goals. In my view it is the first **undogmatic** program. Will it satisfy all the participants in the plenum? I repeat: Society is not indifferent as to what is happening in the CPSU today. Because concord in the country is in many ways dependent on the wishes of this mighty political force.

Zhirinovskiy To Run for USSR President

LD2507185291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, is planning to put forward his candidature for the elections of the USSR president. A NOVOSTI correspondent was told this at the headquarters of the Liberal Democratic Party. The former candidate for Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Repubic president will make a number of trips around the country in the near future. He will visit towns of the Dnestr and Gagauz republics on the invitation of their Supreme Soviets at the end of July; he will go to Estonia at the beginning of August and to Latvia and Lithuania at the end of the month, at the request of international movement of the three republics. Zhirinovskiy is expected to arrive in North Ossetia in mid-August. He was invited by the people's forum, a local organization. As Vladimir Zhirinovskiy told a NOVOSTI correspondent, the aim of his trips is to lobby for party ideas and to increase its influence on the social and political life of the country.

Lushchikov on 'War of Laws' With Republics

LD2507192591 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—The decree by Russian President Boris Yeltsin "on terminating the activity of organisational structures of political parties and mass public movements in state bodies, institutions and organisations of the Russian Federation" has not been sufficiently thought out from the viewpoint of the letter of law, USSR Minister of Justice Sergey Lushchikov told a news conference here today.

He is of the opinion that the document infringes human rights as it is directed not only against the CPSU but also against all mass organisations, trade unions included.

The minister believes the war of laws goes on in the USSR. The republics striving to achieve real sovereignty sooner oversimplify the problem of contradictions arising between the republican and union legislations.

Preference is given to local laws quite often, whereas in the union practice, preference has always been given to international norms. Lushchikov believes the republican authorities thus also contradict international rules.

Shatalin Explains Political Credo in Interview

PM2507142591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 p 1

["Own information" interview with S. Shatalin; date and place of interview not stated: "S. Shatalin: 'The Reaction Is Gathering Strength.' But the Democrats Are Assembling a Party"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Stanislav Sergeyevich, together with E. Shevardnadze, A. Yakovlev, and other political figures, you have recently signed an appeal relating to the establishment of a Movement for Democratic Reforms [MDR]. At the same time you signed another appeal—relating to the establishment of a United Democratic Party [UDP] for the country. As far as we know, the founders of the MDR and the UDP have not yet managed to find a common language. Does this fact not prevent you from being in both "camps" at the same time?

[Shatalin] Yes, I have been elected chairman of the organizational committee for establishing the UDP. It also includes representatives from democratic parties and movements in Russia, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Tajikstan, Turkmenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, the academician and USSR People's Deputy S. Fedorov, the

film producer S. Govorukhin, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy Ye. Ambartsumov, and others. I would like to note straightaway that the MDR was originally formed within the framework of a consensus on the need to establish the UDP as a realistic political opposition to the CPSU. Then for a number of reasons, which do not seem sufficiently convincing to me personally, it was decided to announce independently the initiative of setting up the MDR.

I consider the establishment of the UDP to be the main political choice and cause for myself. Nevertheless I am not going to quit the MDR yet. As far as the mutual relations between the MDR and the UDP are concerned, this problem is one that can only be resolved by their founding congresses, which are scheduled for September. Other extremely important events will take place before this: the July plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the "Communists for Democracy" movement's congress... So there is still time for all democrats to stop and think and to realize that playing games with political trifles must be halted immediately. Because the reaction is gathering strength for the final and decisive battle.

Besides which, one of the greatest strategic mistakes committed by the democrats was to separate two processes that are parallel in real life: the democratization of society and national rebirth. This split has cost our people too dear. The mistake must be corrected immediately. The new Union treaty will then have real national-democratic content.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But there are, after all, other democratically oriented parties that are currently not making a bid to be included in the UDP...

[Shatalin] Our appeal was signed by members of some of these parties. The idea of establishing the UDP has received the support of the Constitutional Democratic Party (the People's Freedom Party). We have held a number of useful meetings with the leadership of the Republican, Social Democratic, and Liberal Conservative parties, which enable us to rely on joint action on a number of fundamental issues. Strategy and tactics at the upcoming election, for example.

I would like to stress, and I believe this to be extremely important in politics, that I have formed warm comradely relations with both the "old" and the "new" democrats. And this happened long before the signing of the various appeals.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What are the UDP's main tasks?

[Shatalin] Since we have not yet formulated a program or a party manifesto, I shall give my personal opinion. The ultimate aim is to bring about a complete change in the socioeconomic and political system that exists in the country. And this progress has already begun. For me this means a person's individual freedom seen as the highest value, a free market economy, private ownership, a parliamentary republic, protection for socially vulnerable sections of the population, and so forth.

Our immediate task is to win the next election, including the USSR presidential election, in a bloc together with the truly democratic forces.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] And what is the UDP's proposed social base?

[Shatalin] The same as that of the Republicans and the Democrats in the United States or the Conservatives and the Labor Party in Great Britain, the entire people. With the sole exception, maybe, of some members of the CPSU and in particular the Russian Communist Party. For my own part, I understand unity with the people in the following way: That I should not live like our poverty-stricken people, but that at the very least the people should live like I do now.

TASS Reviews 26 Jul Soviet Central Press

LD2607075191 Moscow TASS in English 0512 GMT 26 Jul 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—Today's press highlights materials concerning a regular plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee. The plenum began on Thursday. A news bulletin about the plenum points out that the following items were brought up for consideration at the plenum:

1. A draft programme of the CPSU and party organisations' tasks concerning the discussion of it.

2. The nomination of candidates for the posts of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU instead of those who quit the ranks.

3. Organisational matters.

4. An attitude to the Russian Federation president's decree "On the Termination of the Activitives of the Organisational Structures of Political Parties and Mass Social Movements in State Agencies, Institutions and Organisations in the Russian Federation".

A report on the first item on the agenda was presented at the plenum by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

Deliberations on the report involved 27 people. The plenum set up editorial commissions to prepare plenum documents. The plenum will continue its work on Friday.

Gorbachev's report has been published in full in PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and has been summarised in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) newspaper.

In his remarks, the president of the USSR and general secretary of the CPSU Central Commmitee urged the party to abandon claims to the role of "the backbone of the state" and strongly criticised the advocates of "communist fundamentalism".

Gorbachev accused the recently founded "Bolshevist Platform within the CPSU" and the "Communist Initiative" movement of making an "overt attempt to revise" the course, mapped out by the 28th Congress of the CPSU, towards the development of reforms.

The exponents of these trends "in point of fact reject the diversity of the forms of ownership, do not recognise the need to reform the political structures of society and tendentiously criticise the foreign policy of the state", the general secretary said.

"The party can exist and continue to act only on the basis of furtherance of the course charted out by the 28th Congress of the CPSU and on the recognition of the party's new programme," Gorbachev emphasised.

Describing the CPSU's draft program submitted to the plenum, he pointed out that the main thing in the draft programme is a "resolute breaking off with the outdated ideological dogmas and stereotypes".

"The entire wealth of the socialist and democratic thought at home and in the world, not only Marxism-Leninism, should be the ideological basis of the CPSU," Gorbachev pointed out.

Such an approach is prompted by the fact that "the socialist idea can be realised and advance along the road of economic, social, cultural and intellectual progress can be made successfully nowadays only within the mainstrean of the general development of civilisation", he said.

Gorbachev suggested convening an extraordinary congress of the CPSU in November-December this year after a party-wide discussion of the draft programme.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and PRAVDA run a statement issued by the All-Union Council of War, Labour and Armed Forces' Veterans, disapproving Russian President Boris Yeltsin's recently issued decree on departyisation.

PRAVDA also carries a letter by a group of prominent Soviet lawyers who believe that the above-mentioned decree runs counter to the constitution and laws of the Russian Federation.

The two newspapers run the text of a decree issued by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev on the appointment of Lev Spiridonov the general director of the Soviet news agency TASS.

The TASS chief is accorded "the rights of director of a central state administration body of the USSR", the decree points out.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries the text of Russia's law "on the privatisation of housing in the Russian Federation" and a Russian parliament resolution bringing the law into effect from the moment of its publication.

TRUD newspaper carries a detailed account of a Soviet cabinet meeting, at which it was decided to remove the minimum consumer budget issue from the agenda for the time being.

There is an interview in PRAVDA with Amangeldiy Tuleyev, recent contender for Russia's presidency, people's deputy of the Russian Federation and chairman of the Kemerovo regional council of people's deputies.

PRAVDA's political news analyst Vsevowod Ovchinnikov comments on the state of and prospects for Soviet-Japanese relations in the light of the recent bilateral top-level meeting and the Group of Seven summit in London to which Gorbachev had been invited.

Tokyo has in many respects reconsidered its former rather tough stand with regard to assistance to the USSR in effecting radical economic reforms, the analyst notes.

"The Japanese Government has mapped out a number of specific steps to promote reforms in the USSR this year," Ovchinnikov emphasises.

Under the headline "The Green Lawns of Eton", PRAVDA carries a feature story by the newspaper's London correspondent Aleksandr Lyutiy about the world's oldest and most prestigious college which is referred to as "the school of British premiers".

There is a commentary in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA by the newspaper's internatinal news analyst R. Mustafin who, analysing the Gulf situation one year after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, stresses in particular that the Gulf situation remains explosive, which is connected in many respects with the current situation inside Iraq.

Economic

State Bank Takes Credit-Tightening Measures

OW2607073091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR State Bank decided to limit the maximum volume of credits granted by commercial banks and to impose a fixed margin; the difference between interest on the capital involved and interest on the loaned money which now cannot exceed 3 percent.

These decisions were taken during a joint conference between State Bank leaders and officials from republican banks held in Moscow on Tuesday.

Vyacheslav Zakharov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Bank, has told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent

that these measures were approved by most republics. Their aim is to reduce the amount of money in circulation and stabilize the monetary and crediting system.

As of July 1 the volume of credits granted by commercial banks made up 492 billion roubles.

Besides, the USSR State Bank decided to raise interest rates on credits granted by it and by the central banks of constitutent republics from 8 to 12 percent, and increase the size of reserve money commecial banks have to deposit with the USSR State Bank and the central banks of republics from 10 to 14 percent.

According to Vyacheslav Zakharov, these measures are taken in the framework of the government's unified monetary and crediting policy the Supreme Soviet had no time to consider before its summer recess.

The conference was attended by spokesmen for all constituent republics, except Russia, though, according to the deputy chairman of the USSR State Bank, Russia's central bank "received an invitation and all the relevant documents".

Converted Udmurt Plant Produces Car Radios

PM2507110391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by F. Simakov and A. Tselitskiy, identified by caption]

[Text] I would remind you that, as one of the results of the London seven plus one meeting, the Soviet Union will obtain top-priority aid in spheres like conversion of the defense industry. The conversion of major industrial enterprises necessitates major investment, and so the G-7's finance ministers will soon be visiting Moscow to study the state of affairs in depth. You can find out how it is developing from the following reports, which open with a report on the Sarapul radio plant from our Udmurt correspondent.

[Simakov] The first car radio was produced here not very long ago. It has now become a grandfather ahead of schedule. I know for sure that it is still providing many of its owners with faithful, loyal service. In a short space of time the Sarapul workers, although previously burdened with military orders, have been able to develop a whole series of car radios. Very soon ordinary radios became stereo radio tape recorders. Some, the Ural-334, for instance, can operate in economy cars and also quite autonomously. It is undoubtedly convenient and economical for the owner to have one piece of equipment instead of two.

And the Ural-292 radio tape recorder, which the plant has just begun to manufacture, has far more features and facilities. The new product is computer-controlled and has a memory. So you don't need to rotate a knob, you just press a button and everything happens automatically, the desired radio station appears. You can also conduct an instant scan, choosing news or music.

This is all happening now in the highly difficult conditions presented by conversion, with the emergence of the market. I would point out that it was the market that compelled workers here to develop on the double and prepare for production new, slightly simpler versions of the Ural-293 radio tape recorder. If plant workers are unable to buy or get their hands on the requisite components, say, and they have another set of components, a 293 model will appear on the production line.

That means work, profits, and earnings. But whereas over the past five years the people of Sarapul have boosted commodity production by almost 10 percent, this year alone the plan will double it. I would add that the implementation of the country's first regional, Udmurt conversion program will make it possible, according to workers' estimates, to increase the republic's commodity production by almost 2 billion rubles.

Agriculture

Harvest Set Back by Fuel, Spare Parts Shortages

PM2507134391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 91 Second Edition p 1

["Topical Interview" with L.I. Vashchukov, chief of the USSR State Committee for Statistics Agro-Industrial Complex Statistics Administration, by correspondent I. Totskiy: "Not Present in the Fields"]

[Text] At the very time when the grain growers were preparing for the harvest a report appeared in the papers: This year the harvest could take a whole week longer. Why?

The answer is pretty simple: The machine builders had drastically cut supplies of equipment to the countryside. As a result the situation was extremely tight. In the country as a whole each combine was having to deal with 148-152 hectares; in the Russian Federation it was 146-150; in the Ukraine—117-120; in Kazakhstan—243-250.

In order to avoid losses during harvesting, specialists suggested a solution: accelerate the overhauling of the machinery that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes possess and get all the harvesting equipment in proper shape in good time. Did the farms cope with this task?

"By no means everyone everywhere," L.I. Vashchukov, chief of the USSR State Committee for Statistics Agro-Industrial Complex Statistics Administration, said in conversation with our correspondent. "Many items of machinery have simply not been given a clean bill of health. By the beginning of July, when the harvest was already in progress in a large part of the country, 154,000 combines, 189,000 trucks, 80,000 reapers, and 37,000 grain-cleaning machines were still in a state of disrepair.

A great many combines and other items of harvesting equipment were still out of action in the Russian Federation, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, and Tajikistan. Yet every farm, in drawing up its working schedule for the harvest, was relying on these machines."

"Who let the grain growers down, then?"

"The machine builders above all. They have again cut supplies of equipment to the countryside. Powerful grain-harvesting combines are sometimes sent without reapers. So the new harvesting machines stand as kind of monuments to mismanagement. The combine is there, but you cannot work on it. A totally disorganized material and technical supply service has literally brought the machine operators to their knees. They are still waiting for scarce spare parts and hundreds of thousands of batteries.

"But the machine builders are not the only ones at fault. The farmers have also been let down by the petrochemical workers, who have placed the grain growers on fuel starvation rations. In some farms the crops are already shedding ears, but their is no fuel for the machinery."

"PRAVDA readers are angry, saying it is the same thing every year. The papers are constantly writing about the shortage of spare parts, fuel, and mineral fertilizers and about harvest losses, but the situation does not change. Or if it does change, it is for the worse. Is no one else bothered about this, apart from the country people?"

"Apparently so. Remember the old saying: 'If it does not thunder, the peasant does not cross himself.' But it is the peasant who has to battle for the harvest every day, and his partners do not even think of helping him. How else can one explain the constant shortage of spare parts and fuel, at the busiest time, moreover, when every hour, let alone day, is precious? PRAVDA readers are right to be angry about the fact that here the countryside is treated like a poor relation by ministries and departments. Their leaders are in no hurry to help the countryside; they wait for the Cabinet of Ministers to poke them in the back and adopt proper resolutions to help the countryside. But this help gets to the grain grower when the ears are dropping or the harvest is disappearing beneath the snow.

"It would be a demonstration of keen commitments to helping the farmers if one were to find those responsible for the shortage of spare parts and fuel. Find them and take them to task. But they have not been taken to task yet. Let the grain grower find his own way out, they say. So he is lumbered with all the problems. So he thrashes about like a fish on a patch of ice, losing 25-30 percent of the harvest every year, which then has to be made up by purchases from transatlantic farmers."

"But, Leonid Ivanovich, your committee too should keep the Cabinet of Ministers up to date on the state of affairs in the countryside, on what the grain growers need. Does it not appear to you that the information is not being supplied in good time?"

"We try to ensure that everyone connected with the country's agro-industrial complex in the center and in the provinces gets regular information and is able to actively influence the course of the harvest. I think that even now it is not too late to give effective, concrete assistance to grain growers in their harvest work and in keeping the harvest safe and sound. Then, I am sure, the granaries will not remain empty."

Harvest Transportation, Processing Viewed

PM2407154191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Second Edition p 1

[Article by A. Klimenko: "Throwing to the Winds; How Long Will We Lose Lion's Share of Harvest?"]

[Text] It looks as though life is teaching us that it teaches us nothing. According to the most modest estimates, we are losing two-three quintals of grain per hectare. Work it out—tens of millions of tons. Throughout the country as a whole because of the lack of spare parts for the 1991 harvest, which is already at its height, about 150,000 combines may not get out at all.

Of course, it is bad that because of the torrential rain lodged crops occupy large tracts of land in the Chernozem and non-Chernozem zones of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], in Krasnodar and Stavropol krays, and in the Ukraine. But it is three times more fatal for the grain when, having been winowed, it remains sprouting for weeks.

Yes, the level of the countryside's technical equipment is obviously not commensurate with the scale and importance of the grain front. Tests on a new wide reaper were carried out long ago. But to this day the majority of farms have no idea about these reapers. Recently the enterprises producing them totally stopped delivering them to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

It is not only on the fields that we destroy the harvest. "The grain can be turned into rubbish without cleansing and drying facilities," N. Speshnev, a combine operator from Orel Oblast, notes reasonably to the editorial office. "But this year no one wants to supply equipment for it."

The preparation and installation of weighing facilities and the repair of sidings to threshing floors and elevators and of roads have not been completed everywhere. We know that the harvest is lost not only on the roads inside the farms but also on mainline routes. To put all the "inconveniences" on the roads into a normal state, it is essential to invest about 200 billion rubles [R]. But the RSFSR Ministry of Highways is allocated only R6-7 billion a year for the purpose. Last year in the first half of the year (in fact by the time of the harvest) in 40 Russian oblasts the agricultural construction and road building workers had commissioned just 1,300 km of roads of the planned 6,000.

And how are we "digesting" the harvest? Having grown good-quality vegetables, the arable farmers of Azerbaijan are experiencing considerable difficulties in processing them. The harvesting toil has caught many farms of the North Caucasus, Moldova, and Central Asia unprepared. In some places contracts have been concluded for the sale of only half the expected harvest of tomatoes, grapes, and water melons. Where the rest will go unless the situation is urgently rectified is clear—on the garbage heap. To feed hogs. A high "honor" for the harvest brought in with callouses and sweat!

In some regions it looks as though the local authorities are really suited by the fact that they may write off work left undone—blunders—as "justified losses" caused by hot, dry winds and rain. There is a possibility of "building up" stocks of vegetable products through the maximum processing of raw material. Here the addition to consumption resources could be 20-30 percent. But there are few canning, drying, and kvass making enterprises locally. The "giants of industry" are tens and hundreds of kilometers away from the fields.

Alarm signals are coming in from the Ukraine, from Krasnodar Kray, and Tajikistan: A mass of vegetable and fruit produce is perishing on the long journey to the large food industry establishments. And in Samarkand Oblast the vegetable harvesting process is now often being turned into a putrefying flood because the farms' provision with refrigeration capacities is (with the searing heat here!) only 20-25 percent. About two dozen enterprises processing "green vitamins" found themselves "with work undone" on the eve of the harvesting toil in Uzbekistan. The repair workers and construction workers had been unable to prepare them for the season.

There is a critical situation throughout the country as a whole with regard to the provision of wooden packaging, glass jars, and lids for processing plants.

Do our actions accord with elementary common sense? And does the land have the strength endlessly to satisfy the horrendous greed of the monster of our thriftlessness?

Scientific

Arctic Scientific Base Ends Operations

LD2607013691 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Serikov]

[Text] Leningrad July 25 TASS—The drifting station "North Pole-31" that has been functioning in the Canadian sector of the Arctic, some 300 kilometres away from the coast of Alaska, ended its work today.

The ice platform on which the scientific base with 23 Soviet polar explorers was situated began to split on July 22. The main structures of the station were cut off from the storage and the aerological laboratory by a broad water stream.

The ice breaker Murmansk which accompanies vessels in the eastern sector of the Arctic arrived on the scene. American rescuers offered help to Soviet polar explorers. A U.S. helicopter which took off from Cape Barrow landed on the ice-floe. Americans are helping Soviet explorers to dismantle the station.

The evacuation of people and scientific equipment will be completed shortly.

Sofora Experimental Stucture Nears Completion

PM2507160591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by A. Gerasimov and Ye. Shmatrikov, identified by caption]

[Text] In 75 hours of flight Soviet cosmonauts Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev have made five spacewalks. That's a kind of world record, but, needless to say, the cosmonauts didn't leave their orbital home to set records. Our correspondent reports from the Flight Control Center.

[Gerasimov] At roughly 1800 today when the cosmonauts entered the Mir station it became clear that the onboard reconstruction was coming to an end. In five and a half hours' work in space Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev built a large proportion of the experimental Sofora girder structure—the prototype for the space structures of the future. You can see it in the top of the picture. The already huge space station has considerably increased in size.

Here are the elements from which the Sofora space girder is made. The main feature of the experiment elaborated at the Energiya Science and Production Association is that these two sections are joined by a coupling made from a titanium-nickel alloy which possesses a memory effect. This, essentially, means that, when heated, this material remembers its previous small size and keeps contact with amazing force.

Technologies using memory-effect materials elaborated for use in space structures have already begun to be put to use on Earth—ranging from medical apparatus to drilling installations for oilmen. Regrettably, the introduction of state-of-the-art technology is once again proceeding very slowly.

The frequency with which the crew is working in open space has injected a humdrum element into events. For that reason we tried to look for something unusual, and found it. You will agree that this is a fantastic picture of Anatoliy Artsebarksiy moving along the station on a boom.

The appearance of a flickering light source near the station enlivened the Flight Control Center. What was it? No one could say clearly. Perhaps glare on the television camera? Perhaps not. But we were not distracted from the work performed by the cosmonauts, who assembled 14 of the structure's 20 sections. The intention is to complete the work on 27 July.

EVA Preparation, Sofora Described

PM2607104791 Moscow Central Television Second Program in Russian 0545 GMT 20 Jul 91

[From the July edition of the "Man, Earth, Universe" program hosted by USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut V.I. Sevastyanov]

[Text] [Sevastyanov] Dear friends! Work is under way in space. Constant work is under way in space. There are periods of high intensity in this work, and periods when the work of the cosmonauts aboard the Mir scientific orbital complex is more relaxed. It is during these periods that they prepare for new scientific work.

Over the past six weeks our colleagues, Cosmonauts Sergey Krikalev and Anatoliy Artsebarskiy, have carried out two very important spacewalks to repair part of the equipment on the outside of the complex and to install new equipment. During the second spacewalk they performed so well that they were able to cut the extravehicular activity [EVA] by two hours while carrying out all the set tasks. An excellent result! How is this possible? It is possible because the cosmonauts prepare very thoroughly for the EVA's. I would now like to show you a segment of the crew's preparation for an upcoming EVA. It will show you how, exchanging information with mission control, they are assembling the girder and some units from components sent up from the ground in order to subsequently mount them outside. The cosmonauts record all this on a videotape—the communications sessions with the ground are relatively short, limited to the time when the crew is overflying the territory of our country—so they record everything, subsequently transmitting all this information to specialists on the ground, and the specialists introduce corrections and provide advice.

[Fragmented and largely unintelligible interchange between cosmonauts and ground control is heard.]

I could also show you different pictures in which you would see the same structure. Let me remind you, on 15 July the cosmonauts spent 5 hours and 56 minutes in open space—as long as 5 hours and 56 minutes—and several more EVA's are scheduled. And they are all based on hours, days, and weeks of preparatory work, like the work which you are seeing now. There is no escaping this work. Painstaking, (?detailed), and often tiresome work. A spacewalk is like a stage performance. Yet how much work is necessary backstage, before (?the curtain goes up)? [lengthy indistinct exchange] But there is no other way, either on the ground or in space. This is the only way to achieve success.

The experiment itself is named Sofora, after a shrub which grows in the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. Exactly why, I do not know. A Sofora has been planted on a platform on the Kvant module, and it will grow to a height of 14 meters; I mean the girder. That is as high as a five-story apartment building. And it will be subjected to burning frosts and radiation and will be bathed in cosmic rays. It will be left alone for a whole year with only its sensors for company. Will it survive? Will it put down roots? You have seen for yourself what a fragile-looking structure this Sofora is.

Military

Navy Plans 20-25 Percent Cut in Vessels by 2000

LD2507131591 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—The Soviet Union plans to cut down the number of naval vessels by 20-25 per cent by the year 2000, Adm. Vladimir Chernavin, commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, told TASS today.

In the interview on the occasion of Soviet Navy Day, observed on July 28, Chernavin pointed out that this branch of the Soviet Armed Forces is equipped with all necessary combat systems.

He singled out Typhoon-class guided missile submarines, third- generation multi-purpose atomic submarines, modern Kirov-class cruiser and Sovremenny-class destroyer vessels.

By the year 2000, Chernavin said, the number of naval vessels will be cut by 20-25 per cent, but the Navy's might will be maintained at the level of defence sufficiency.

"Combat capabilities of the Navy will be maintained thanks to the qualitative renewal of all arms of the service," he emphasised.

Law on 'Social Support' for Reserves Outlined

PM2507135791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 91 Union Edition p 7

[Interview under the "Details for IZVESTIYA" rubric with Lieutenant General L. Ivashov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Directorate of Affairs, by correspondent V. Litovkin; date and place not specified; first paragraph is introduction: "Officer at Labor Exchange"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the Law "On Special Guarantees of Employment and Social Support for Servicemen Discharged From Service Without Pension Rights." At our correspondent's request Lieutenant General L. Ivashov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Directorate of Affairs, comments on the law's content and meaning.

[Ivashov] The law applies to people who have served in the Army or Navy, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs],

KGB, Railroad Troops, internal affairs organs, or other military formations for less than 20 calendar years and who are compulsorily discharged into the reserve without pension rights during the military reform and cuts in the Armed Forces. They are mainly young officers, warrant officers, and extended-service personnel. Many of them have neither a civilian specialty nor housing. And it is our society's duty to help them at least initially and to protect them.

[Litovkin] What guarantees does the law provide?

[Ivashov] Preference in job placement—given the unemployment this is a very important legislative norm—and also the pay they received in their last post, excluding pay according to rank and length of service allowances, for three months after being discharged into the reserve.

[Litovkin] That's not much...

[Ivashov] Yes. But unfortunately such is our state's economic and financial potential right now. However, the law gives republics, local soviets, enterprises, institutions, and public organizations the right to establish, according to their means, additional guarantees of social support for people discharged into the reserve. And the ministries and departments in which the people served will pay the money we were talking about.

I would also like to add that, if after three months people have not found work to their liking or in their specialty, the law guarantees them unemployment benefit of 60 percent of the pay they received in their last post, or not less than the minimum wage prescribed by USSR legislation. In the period when such citizens are undergoing retraining or enhancing their qualifications they will be paid a grant of 80 percent of the pay they received in their last post if their family includes minors or invalids, or 60 percent of pay if they have no children.

But all this is on condition that, within 10 days of being discharged into the reserve and being placed on the military register, a person registers at the state employment service or, as they now say, the labor exchange.

[Litovkin] How many people might this law affect and what financial resources will it require?

[Ivashov] According to our calculations, over 20,000 people a year could be discharged without pension rights because of age, personnel reductions, or poor state of health. Almost 12,000 of them are officers. This will require over 23 million rubles from the Ministry of Defense, and a total of over 45 million if you count both the KGB and the MVD.

[Litovkin] But because of inflation the ministry's financial position is, I know, extremely serious. Its leadership even appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet for additional resources, but was refused. Where is the money for the new social guarantees going to come from?

[Litovkin] Since the law has been adopted, the resources for implementing it will be found.

[Litovkin] The people being discharged into the reserve without pension rights include those who were disappointed with their choice, who do not wish to serve, and who obtained a discharge, despite everything, only because the current procedure for performing service does not give an officer the right to transfer to the reserve at his own request. Will the social guarantees you are talking about apply to them?

[Ivashov] No. Those discharged because of their unsuitability for service or for discreditable conduct will not have such guarantees. A point concerning an officer's right to be discharged into the reserves at his own request after 10 years' service, or earlier for family or other important reasons, has been introduced into the future Law "On Servicemen's Status," which is now being discussed in Supreme Soviet committees. But the new law will not apply to them either. They will come under the general legislation on employment of the population.

Estonia

Ruutel Continues U.S. Visit, Meets Officials

OW2607035691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia, Arnold Ruutel, continues his visit to the U.S. He arrived in that country as a guest of honour of the Special Olympic Games for the Disabled, which were held this week in Minneapolis.

Although the visit was unofficial, the head of the Estonian Parliament had talks with U.S. Secretary of Defence, Richard Cheney, during which the political situation in the USSR and in Eastern Europe was discussed. American analysts assessed that meeting as "unexpected".

On July 25, Mr. Ruutel is to meet with U.S. Undersecretary of State, Lawrence Eagleburger. The programme of the visit also includes talks with the U.S. President's adviser on national security and with a number of congressmen.

The trip of the head of the Estonian Parliament to the U.S. will end on July 29.

Foreign Ministry on U.S. Official's Remarks

LD2407164291 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn July 24 TASS—The Estonian Foreign Ministry has sent an inquiry to the U.S. Department of State in connection with an interview with naval attache Sergey Ionov, published in the NEDELYA weekly, the information department of the Estonian Foreign Ministry told TASS today.

Asked by NEDELYA to comment on developments in the Baltic region, the American diplomat, who was born in Riga (Latvia), replied: "This is your domestic problem which we do not want to evaluate."

The naval attache's remarks contradict the U.S. traditional policy of non-recognition of the military occupation of the Baltic states and support for the peaceful restoration of their independence by way of talks with the USSR Government, the Estonian Foreign Ministry's statement said.

In the ministry's view, the diplomat's remarks that the Baltic developments should be viewed as an internal matter of the Soviet Union are in sharp contrast with the U.S. stance that was recently confirmed at the G-7 summit in London and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Minister Comments on Narva, Cities' Memorandum

LD2507205791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Artur Kuznetsov, minister [of ethnic relations] of the Republic of Estonia, took part in yesterday's Narva town council session. In an interview given to ETA [Estonian Telegraphic Agency] today, he notes that the presentation of a memorandum by the leaders of three towns in northeastern Estonia serves as a grave signal. In the minister's opinion, it is time to deal not only with issues concerning Narva, but all of northeastern Estonia. The government must consider seriously the idea of convening a joint session of the three northeast Estonian town councils, which is likely to take place toward autumn, and whose resolution may turn out to be quite harsh, Kuznetsov said.

While visiting Narva, Kuznetsov became convinced that it is possible to arrive at a compromise. The minister does not rule out another third force standing behind the Narva crisis. Artur Kuznetsov drew attention to the fact that the treaty concluded last year between Estonia and both Leningrad city and Leningrad Oblast contains a provision envisaging that a tripartite agreement is reached on the status of the economic border. Leningrad could at present be a mediator in regulating the conflict, the minister said.

According to ETA, conceptions of local autonomies have already been drawn up.

Military District Exercise Reported Under Way

OW2507031791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0930 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Reports from the Baltic Military District say a military exercise is underway on the territory of Estonia and Latvia.

As the Estonian Government's adviser for relations with the Soviet Armed Forces Matti Pedak told BF [BALTFAX], this time the military have informed the government about the exercise beforehand.

According to the Estonian Vice Military Commissar, Colonel Vladimir Fedirko, large-scale movements of troops on the territory of Estonia are unlikely.

Lauristin Says Popular Front's Tasks 'Fulfilled'

OW2507075191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1230 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper "POSTIMEES" Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of

Estonia and Vice-Speaker of the Estonian Supreme Council Marju Lauristin pointed out that "the tasks of the Estonian Popular Front have been fulfilled."

Marju Lauristin was one of the founders of the Estonian Popular Front in the spring of 1988. However later she became the leader of Estonian Social Democrats who had "grown up" in the Estonian Popular Front.

Marju Lauristin argues that "Estonian society is mature enough to move toward a multi-party democracy." She says the recent opinion polls show that "in people's eyes the Estonian Popular Front has already turned into a political party" with a number of supporters nearly the same as that of other political parties of Estonia.

As is known, the Estonian Popular Front's faction is the largest in parliament, though it has no absolute majority. The leader of the Estonian Popular Front is Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar.

Tallinn Police Prefect Calls for Salary Hikes

OW2607014791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tallinn's police prefect, Raik Saart, said that if policemen's salaries are not increased in the near future, "the dream about Estonian police will have to be buried."

He said that in recent months the number of young people, particularly Estonians, willing to serve in the police, has considerably decreased. Specialists with a 10-year and longer length of service are giving up their jobs because they are paid less than people of other professions. For instance, a rank-and-file policeman earns 400-500 roubles a month and specialists about 600 roubles.

Raik Saart believes that policemen's salary must be raised two times, or else the police may cease to be professional and difficulties in employing Estonians may arise. So far, in Tallinn, 24 percent of policemen serving in the Estonian police are Estonians (against 10 percent in 1990). The perfect ratio would be 50:50.

Mr. Saart noted that the police are the only armed formation subordinate to the Estonian Government. "It's absurd that a state should lack a force capable of defending it from a handful of saboteurs switching off electricity, water supplies or telephone communication," he said.

Official Comments on Statistical System Renewal

LD2507193491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Excerpt] It is a fact that the statistical system valid in the USSR does not suit Estonia and so our own system is being drafted. Today this work was introduced to journalists. The cost of living index was also talked about. Ain Saarna went along to the news conference.

[Saarna] Viktoria (?Drazhanov), head of the cost of living department at the State Statistical Department, how expensive was it then for us to live in the second quarter of 1991? It seems that it was more expensive than ever before.

[Drazhanov] Your feeling is right, of course. The cost of living index in the second quarter of 1991 was 3.403 against the fourth quarter of 1989: that means an increase of 240.3 percent. One could say—among other things—that goods increased in price 3.65 times; of those foodstuffs 4.4...[corrects herself] 4.402 times and consumer goods 2.74 times. Services have increased 2.08 times. I could add here that in the second quarter of 1991—compared with the first quarter of 1991—prices have increased by 30 percent. And talking about the ratio for the second quarter of 1991 to the second quarter of 1990: that was 2.718 times, which is 171.8 percent.

[Saarna] What methods did you use to obtain these figures?

[Drazhanov] Our methods are those used the world over: They are the methods of calculating the consumer and price indexes, and the cost-of-living index is but one specific form of this. That is, we take the so-called shopping basket which in principle stands for the role of goods in...well, taken in total. Excluded from it are so-called luxury goods and alcohol. The shopping basket has been made up based on the minimum living wage.

[Saarna] Rein Veetousme, director general of the State Statistical Department: One of the subjects of today's news conference was also the renewal of the statistics system.

[Veetousme] [Passage omitted] If everything goes normally then from 1992 we will be able to apply statistics which are considerably more centered on Estonia than at present. [passage omitted] Of course, statistics has to get as far as forecasting; well, this indeed is a long way away for us. But we will in any case strive so that statistics will also deal with forecasting and then statistics will perhaps be more useful than they are now.

Republic's Joint Ventures More 'Successful'

LD2407200991 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1830 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Over 1,000 enterprises have been set up in Estonia with foreign capital involvement. Among them are joint ventures, international joint-stock companies, representations of foreign firms, and affiliated firms. As a rule, work of the enterprises has been successful, and by the end of the year their ratio within the Estonian gross national product should amount to five percent.

[Begin recording] [Mehis Pilv, director general of the Foreign Economic Department] Enterprises have taken

in $110 million in Estonia in foreign capital. This is a substantial figure. In Lithuania, the figure stands at $30 million and in Latvia slightly under $65 million. Estonia has been more attractive to foreign capital, and Estonian entrepreneurs have been more active.

[Correspondent Vallo Toomet] A total of 65 percent of the capital in joint ventures has been invested in industry, 14 percent in hotels, less in other spheres. At the beginning, the capital for joint ventures originated predominantly from Finland, then with joint-stock companies which have foreign capital involvement. The role of Sweden has been increasing very rapidly, exceeding 55 percent of the total volume of foreign capital. Their numbers are increasing very rapidly. At the beginning of June, there were already 482 joint-stock companies with foreign capital involvement. At the time, the number of registered joint ventures was 287.

[Pilv] The output of joint ventures last year amounted to R120 million. The first quarter of this year demonstrates a big increase. As joint-stock companies have also emerged, we can see that the output of enterprises involving foreign capital will be well over R400 million by the end of the year. That is, comparing this against the gross national product, we will arrive at something like four to five percent of the gross national product. According to the data from the USSR, enterprises involving foreign capital produce 0.2 percent of output in the USSR.

[Toomet] At the same time, joint ventures produce 35 percent of all Estonian exports. As statistics here do not cover joint-stock companies with foreign capital involvement, one can assume that the role of enterprises with foreign capital involvement in Estonian export may be even bigger. In 1990, most was exported to Finland—35 percent—and 20 percent of the export total of all enterprises in question went to Sweden. Even if Mehis Pilv evaluated the situation in a positive light, one must note that even now there is no law in Estonia to protect foreign investment. One has been adopted in all East European countries, including the Soviet Union. Several major Western firms have shown interest in the law and in the government's guarantees.

[Pilv] On quite a few occasions, the question of legislative protection for investments has arisen, and the Foreign Economic Department, in conjunction with the Justice Ministry—the main bodies in drawing up the foreign investment law—we hope very much that Parliament after its summer recess will deal with this law among its first matters. [end recording]

Bank of Estonia Foreign Exchange Rates Reported

OW2507104691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Exchange rates of foreign currencies against the rouble fixed by the Bank of Estonia on July 17

Currency	Buying price	Selling price	% change on last week
Australian dollar	22.14	23.69	-2.12
Austrian schilling	2.317	2.479	-0.0
Dutch guilder	14.44	15.45	-0.35
Canadian dollar	24.71	26.44	-3.10
Norwegian krone	4.190	4.483	+0.07
French franc	4.802	5.138	-0.06
Swedish krone	4.510	4.916	-0.13
German mark	16.25	17.71	-0.31
Finnish markka	6.780	7.424	-0.29
Pound sterling	48.04	51.40	+0.02
Danish krone	4.214	4.509	-0.017
US dollar	28.59	30.59	-2.16
Swiss franc	18.89	20.21	+0.43
ECUs*	33.52	35.87	-0.03
Belgian franc	0.7912	0.8466	-0.10
Spanish peseta	0.2561	0.2740	-1.08
Italian lire	0.02188	0.02341	0.23
Japanese yen	0.2093	0.2240	-1.08

[* European Currency Unit]

According to rules set by the Bank of Estonia, the difference between the selling price and the buying price is a fixed percentage.

Representatives Discuss Tourism Links With China

LD2307121791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Text] Leaders of the Estonian Tourism Department and the Union of Tourist firms today met representatives from Chinese travel firms at the Ministry of Culture. Leaders of privately owned travel firms from Chinese provinces make up the 13-strong delegation of visitors. Their aim is to set up direct links with Estonia for exchanging package tours without changing any foreign currency. In the next few days travel firms from the two countries will sign cooperation treaties.

In June and July Priit Kelder, president of the Estonian-Chinese Society, and Tiia Karing, director of the Tourism Department, went to China on a tourist trip to give presentations on Estonia.

Agricultural Auction To Be Held in Tallinn

OW2607015291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On July 31, the first ever auction of agricultural produce will take place in Tallinn. To quote Director General of the Estonian Exchange Union, Aino Rinner, its goal is to bring the sellers and buyers of agricultural produce together.

The need to organize an auction arose after the system of centralized purchases of agricultural produce was eliminated on July 1 and free prices were fixed on it.

The Tallinn commodity exchange which will hold auctions every Wednesday, demands that the sellers pay from 80 to 100 roubles for participation in one auction, and charges 0.5-2.5 percent from the worth of every deal.

Mr. Rinner says that the auction is open for representatives of other republics, who must have corresponding licences to import the produce from the republic.

Latvia

Talks Postponed, Called 'Sign of Disrespect'

LD2507213391 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The Soviet delegation to talks with Latvia has unofficially announced that it is not yet ready for the third round of talks, scheduled for the end of July. The postponement of talks by the Soviet side is believed to indicate that Moscow's position is unclear pending the signing of the new Union treaty and the superpower summit between Soviet President Gorbachev and U.S. President Bush.

(Vitaliy Averak), a member of the Soviet negotiating team, told Latvia's permanent representative in Moscow, Janis Peters, that the Soviet side had not yet consulted with Soviet President Gorbachev and with the Soviet teams negotiating with Lithuania and Estonia.

Deputy Prime Minister Ilmars Bisers—the head of the Latvian delegation to consultations with Moscow—has called the Soviet delegation's practice of announcing delays in the talks unofficially to be a sign of disrespect. This is the second time this month that the talks have been postponed. Originally the talks were scheduled to have been held from 3 to 4 July in Moscow.

More on Postponement

OW2607024691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2100 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent reports that on July 24 the Soviet side made an unofficial statement to the effect that it is not prepared for consultations with Latvia, scheduled for the end of this month, yet. USSR deputy chief delegate Vitaliy Ogorok told the permanent Latvian representative in Moscow Janis Peters over the telephone that the Soviet delegates had not consulted Mikhail Gorbachev or the leaders of similar Soviet delegations for consultations with Lithuania and Estonia yet.

Deputy Chairman of Latvia's legislature Andreis Krastins has told BF that the postponement of negotiations by the Soviet Union is evidence that Moscow still has no idea of how the signing of the treaty of the Union will go on. "Judging by Mikhail Gorbachev's reaction to the arrival of the Chairman of Armenia's Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan in Novo-Ogarevo, Moscow hopes that other republics will change their policies, too", Krastins said. He believes that the Soviet-U.S. summit beginning in Moscow in a few days and a follow-up session of the Helsinki conference due to open in Moscow in September, have also interfered with the Soviet Union's preparations for the consultations.

Bill Outlines Mechanism for State of Emergency

LD2507090591 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] A Latvian Supreme Council work group headed by Deputy (?Gids Kustaskis) has completed the basic conception for a bill on states of emergency in Latvia.

The bill outlines the mechanism for declaring a state of emergency in the republic and designates authority and responsibility in such an event. The bill also fixes a time limit for the republic's executive powers to prepare for a possible state of emergency during time of peace.

Measures against criminal and administrative offenses in the event of a state of emergency are also provided for.

The bill will be submitted to the Latvian Supreme Council in two weeks for ratification.

Further on State of Emergency Draft

OW2507095991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A working group of the Latvian parliament led by Girts Kristovskis has come out with the concept of a law on the state of emergency.

In an interview with Diena Kristovskis said [as received] that "the January developments demonstrated that the absence of a mechanism of holding responsible persons who give orders and carry them out leads of chaos". Last January the Riga Black Berets attacked the building of the Latvian Interior Ministry. 5 persons died in the operation.

According to the draft law, if a state of emergency is introduced, the Parliament shall be given additional power. It also describes the functions and duties of government structures which should be prepared already in peaceful times, Kristovskis said. The draft law provides for greater liability for criminal and administrative breaches in emergencies and responsibility for failing to perform one's duties.

"The law shall fall into two main parts, the part on activities in the event of illegal usurpation of power or aggression and in the event of a calamity", Kristovskis said.

During the next two weeks the draft law will be polished and then submitted to the parliamentary defence and interior committee and later to Parliament.

Republic To Aid in Ruble Convertibility Work

OW2507083891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia will give its response to the suggestion by the Currency Commission of the USSR that a Latvian representative take part in the drawing up of a programme to achieve internal convertibility of the rouble on July 24, Mr. Ajgars Plotkans, an economic adviser of the Latvian government, told a BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent. He said that Latvia would take part in the work of a commission created to draw up the abovementioned programme, which will consist of experts from the Currency Commission of the USSR, Vnesheconombank of the USSR and the Institute for International Relations, as an observer and would consequently submit no proposals of its own.

According to Mr. Plotkans's sources, similar decisions had been taken by other republics which do not intend to sign the Union Treaty, with the exception of Estonia.

The discussion of the programme will consist of three stages: macroeconomics, banks, and export and import transactions. Mr. Plotkans said that he would participate in the work of the macroeconomics group which would consider the issues of determining the rouble's objective exchange rate and devising a social safety net. "Latvia will in any case be needing information about the plans of its neighbour", he said.

Mr. Plotkans also said that "he was not far from sure that the Soviet Union will be at all able to make the rouble internally convertible" (expected ratios of the dollar to the rouble are between 1:7 and 1:10).

Draft Law on Small Enterprise Privatization

OW2607015591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1230 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Government has discussed a draft law on privatization of small enterprises which will be submitted later to the republic's Parliament.

According to the draft law, the small enterprises include stands and shops with trading space of no more than 100 square meters. Restaurants, cafes and snackbars with no more than 30 seats and total space which does not exceed 120 square meters are also considered the small enterprises, as well as ateliers, workshops, baths, hairdressing salons and self-service laundries with no more than 10 employees.

However, the draft law does not apply to special shops for certain groups of the population, such as newly married couples, families with many children, invalids and persons suffering diabetes.

The draft law does not concern land property. If one wants to sell land, his or her application can be considered after three years of strict adhering to an agreement with local authorities and to all corresponding legislations.

The draft envisions several ways of privatization: auction among workers of a privatized enterprise, auction among juridical and physical persons, etc.

Small enterprises can be bought by those who have lived in Latvia for no less than 10 years. Employees can buy an enterprise if they have worked there for no less than 5 years.

The Latvian Government has also allowed the self-government bodies of the cities of Riga, Yurmala, Elgava, Ogre and Liepaje to privatize 3 small enterprises each as an experiment.

Social Democrats To Hold Congress 28-29 Dec

OW2407040991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1800 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Social-Democratic Labour Party [LSDLP] is going to hold its next congress on December 28 and 29 of this year in Jelgava and its third conference on October 5. The decision was taken at a session of the party's Central Committee. The session also stressed the necessity to step up cooperation with the Russian Social Democrats, in spite of the Russian party's crisis. The Chairman of the LSDLP's Political Commission, E. Baldzens, believes that the Social-Democratic Party of Russia has some influence upon the Russian President.

The session decided to mark August 5, the official date of Latvia's forcible incorporation in the USSR, with demonstrations.

Credit Policy To Be Discussed at Moscow Meeting

OW2207102091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1230 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The newspaper "DIENA" reports Chairman of the USSR State Bank's branch in Latvia A. Berg-Bergmanis and President of the Bank of Latvia P. Sakss have been invited to attend a meeting of bank's heads on working out a credit policy for the next half-year scheduled for July 23 in Moscow.

The meeting is expected to raise interest rates on credits granted by the USSR State Bank. Currently, Latvia receives from the Center credits at 8-9 percent interest rate.

The meeting will also elaborate a new draft on credit policy in the USSR and submit it to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Soviet Official on Currency Rules for Republic

OW2407035491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1230 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper "DIENA" the deputy director of the Latvian branch of the Soviet Vneshekonombank, Vishnyakov, announced that the existing situation where a Latvian citizen cannot spend in cash hard currency, received in the form of a present or inheritance, is not acceptable.

All fees, pensions, alimony and inherited money from abroad must be transferred into a hard currency account at Vneshekonombank in Moscow. Then the owner, having proved his right to the money, can receive his money transformed into roubles or open a hard currency account at this bank. According to Vishnyakov money can only be withdrawn on the presentation of a visa to travel abroad.

Payment for purchases by cheque is only permitted in two shops in Latvia. In addition owners of hard currency are not satisfied with the choice of goods or the system of payment. Similarly they are unable under present legislation to draw money from their bank accounts. There is another worse aspect of the conversion of hard currency into roubles: if money is converted and handed over as roubles then 30 percent commission is retained as payment for "services".

A similar situation arises with those wishing to travel abroad: anyone with a visa to travel abroad can buy hard currency up to the sum of $200 in two Latvian banks—the branch of the Soviet Vneshekonombank and the Commercial Bank in Riga. Although these banks have the right to sell hard currency they do not agree with the republic's incentive to extend their hard currency turnover.

A representative of the Latvian branch of the Soviet Vneshekonombank proposed that all limitations would be lifted towards the end of 1991.

Government Decides To Increase Vodka Prices

OW2507095891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday the Latvian government discussed a draft resolution on an average 50 percent price rise of alcohol. A bottle of vodka will evidently cost 20 roubles.

The proposal was made by the Latvian Finance Ministry after the Ministry of Agriculture failed to increase the production of alcohol and satisfy the demand which would guarantee planned revenues.

Another reason is that Lithuania and Estonia have already raised prices. Russia and the Ukraine have boosted the wholesale price of a decalitre of spirits to 238 roubles, while in Latvia it is merely 19.9 roubles.

Lithuania

Further Reports on Treaty With Russian Republic

OW2507043091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1230 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian delegation is to arrive in Moscow July 25 for talks with the Russian Federation. The delegation will be led by Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Ceslovas Stankevicius. The talks are expected to discuss an agreement about the Kaliningrad region to be signed along with a treaty between the Russian Federation and Lithuania.

The signing of the treaty is scheduled for July 29 in Moscow.

In the meantime, Russian Deputy Minister of Labor Mr. Roshin and deputy of the Russian parliament Mr. Aleksandrov are visiting Lithuania.

On Tuesday they had a meeting with Chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis.

Among other issues they discussed the problem of 160 families whose members work at the oil-processing plant in Mazeikai, but would like to move from Lithuania to the Russian Federation.

As Mr. Roshin put it, "this problem is being resolved in a constructive way". An agreement on this problem is also expected to be signed between the Lithuanian Government and the Russian Ministry of Labor.

Delegation List for Treaty Signing

OW2507043691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The presidium of Lithuania's Supreme Council met on July 24 to appoint the members of the delegation empowered to sign a treaty with the Russian Federation on July 29 in Moscow. The delegation will consist of:

Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, head of delegation;

Mr. Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council;

Mr. Gediminas Vagnorius, Prime-Minister;

Mr. Algirdas Saudargas, Foreign Minister;

Mr. Emanuelis Zingeris, chairman of the parliamentary commission for foreign affairs;

Mr. Vladimir Yarmolenko, deputy of the Supreme Council.

Treaty Signing 29 July

LD2607082691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0700 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] A session of the Lithuanian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has confirmed the composition of the delegation that will set off for Moscow to sign a treaty on the fundamentals of interstate relations between Lithuania and Russia. The treaty is expected to be signed on 29 July.

One of the most important aspects of the forthcoming agreement may be the problem of the rights of Russians in Lithuania and of Lithuanians in Russia. If the treaty is ratified before 3 November this year, the day when the two-year period for the coming into effect of the republican law on citizenship expires, inhabitants of the republic who came to Lithuania after 3 November 1989 will be able, if they so wish, to obtain Lithuanian citizenship and, accordingly, the right to participate in privatization and to receive investment cheques.

Apart from that, the treaty may provide guarantees for Russians that may wish to leave Lithuania, especially since the tendency to move out will evidently increase.

So, much is expected from the treaty. Time will show whether the hopes are justified.

Delegation Set To Arrive in Moscow

OW2607014991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Lithuanian delegation headed by Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Ceslovas Stankevicius arrives in Moscow today to complete the work on an agreement about the Kaliningrad region.

Mr. Stankevicius told BF [BALTFAX] that all points of the agreement need elaboration.

The agreement is to be signed on July 29 along with a political treaty between Lithuania and the Russian Federation.

"We would like to finish the work as soon as possible so that we could visit home before the signing of the treaty", Mr. Stankevicius said. He expressed hope that the elaboration of the agreement will be successful. He also told BF that the Russian delegation will be led by a Russian MP Fedor Shelov-Kovedyaev.

Head of the Russian delegation for talks with Lithuania Gennadiy Burbulis is now engaged in general preparatory work for the signing of the treaty, Mr. Stankevicius noted.

No Landsbergis-Bush Moscow Meeting Set

LD2507201891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, will most probably go to Moscow on Sunday, 28 July. The interstate treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Lithuania is to be signed on Monday, 29 July, in the morning. This was announced at today's briefing by the press representative of the Supreme Council, Audrius Azubalis. In reply to a journalist's question on whether Vytautas Landsbergis is planning to meet with U.S. President George Bush, who will be visiting Moscow at that time, the press representative said that such a meeting will not take place.

Landsbergis Meets With USSR Railways Minister

LD2607082791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Today the chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, received Soviet Minister of Railways Leonid Matyukhin.

The Soviet Union's minister noted that the purpose of his visit was to find points of contact in striving to stabilize the work of the railway structures. He acquainted Landsbergis with a draft agreement on the work of the railways. It was noted that in striving to normalize the situation on the railways, a joint group of representatives of the Soviet Union and Lithuania has been formed to solve economic and juridical issues that arise. A discussion took place on the possibilities of opening a direct railway line with Warsaw via Sestokai.

The chairman of the Republic of Lithuania recalled the January events when a small group of people closed down the railway in Vilnius. The Soviet Union's minister of railways—who, by the way, has been occupying this post since last May—stated that he was categorically opposed to interference by political or other forces in the work of the railways.

Problems of the development of the railways and other issues of interest to both sides were discussed. The meeting was attended by Lithuanian Minister of Transport Jonas Birziskis and the head of the board of Baltic Railways, Oleg Moshenko.

Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius received Leonid Matyukhin the same day.

Interior Minister Pressured To Give Up Post

OW2607015091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the independent Lithuanian newspaper "RESPUBLIKA" the acting Lithuanian Interior Minister Maijonas Misiukonis said "all this time the sword of Damocles has been hanging above my head."

During the past two weeks Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius speaking in Parliament has offered his candidacy for the post of Interior Minister twice. However, the Parliament has rejected the offers by a majority of votes. Mr. Vagnorius motivated his proposal with allegations that Lithuanian police is being influenced by certain political forces.

Mr. Misiukonis who has been performing the interior minister's functions from March 1990, says certain pressure has been put on him and many other police commissars beginning from January 1991. He says representatives of some state bodies have even threatened to kill him just because he refused to give in his arms.

Officials Urge 'Strict Economy' for Republic

PM2407134191 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 17 Jul 91 pp 1-2

[Article by Eugeniyus Maldeykis and Saulyus Pechyulis from the Lithuanian Ministry of the Economy Department for the Reform and Development Strategy of the Economy: "The Regime Is Strict Economy"]

[Text] The Lithuanian economy is moving toward new working conditions caused by the deepening of the economic crisis and the change in the nature of relations with the USSR. All problems will of course be resolved sooner or later. But it is better if decisions are not spontaneous but well considered and adopted on the basis of clear ideas of the end results and means of attaining them. The program which is being elaborated today for the functioning of the Lithuanian economy during the transition to new economic relations with the USSR should become the basis for adaptation and should consider the need to coordinate economic reform with anticrisis policy.

We should mention the features of the USSR as a partner in economic cooperation. Reforms in the Union are under way, but their nature is often hard to predict. Within the framework of official doctrine they are not aimed at abolishing socialism but aim only to improve it. But because of political instability and ideological uncertainty it is hard for us to forecast their true dimensions. Political instability renders unclear even the very nature of relations with the USSR. Do the discriminatory measures envisaged by the 12 points of the plan for a possible economic "divorce" await us or will we succeed in avoiding them? How will accounts be conducted: at world prices, commodity exchange prices, or some other prices? Will the USSR not refuse to purchase food and other goods from us? These are all things we still do not know. That is why, while hoping for the best, we must prepare for the worst.

The main emphasis of the program now being elaborated is connected with the transformation of the actual system of values of economic policy. Above all this program should eliminate the orientation toward the state's fiscal model. **A regime of strict economy is a new imperative in the development of Lithuania's economy.** The reduction of state consumption and budget expenditure, the saving of all types of resources—those are the main elements of this program. It is also essential to review social programs, determining priorities for their restriction. A painful process, but nonetheless better than spontaneous collapse in the event of a shortage of funds.

The transition to new economic relations with the USSR (if we discard extreme elements) should be assessed not as extreme conditions but as normal existence under conditions of independence. Is it expensive to buy oil at world prices? Yes. But all independent subjects do it. In what way are we better or worse than Hungary or Czechoslovakia? It is another matter that we have to adapt to these conditions which, we stress, are normal. And this is no easy task since we have gotten out of the habit of making rational use of resources. Finally, we must admit that we have grown accustomed to living beyond our means. State consumption and the population's consumption have exceeded our real potential. We must get used to the idea that national income and consumption are being moved to a different, lower level. That is why state expenditure should also be correspondingly reduced.

This step also becomes inevitable by virtue of domestic reasons. The present situation may be described as a closed circle in the balance of the state's expenditure and revenue when high taxes suppress economic initiative and deepen crisis phenomena and that in turn reduces the influx of revenue into the budget. The regime of strict economy should help us emerge from this circle of contradictions. Often from populist considerations people suggest reducing taxes or expanding benefits to producers. But we suggest **beginning with a regime of thrift in state consumption and on that basis creating preconditions for a reduction in the burden of taxes, the development of economic initiative, and, as a result, the growth of production.**

The strict economic regimen will help accelerate economic reform. As a result of the reduction of state consumption, a broad scope is opened up for the development of the market and the private sector which in turn will lead to a narrowing of the state sector and weakening of the state's role in the economy. Consequently, the transition to the market will receive new acceleration.

The policy of stabilization in our view should be implemented in three main directions:

—state regulation measures;

—the balance of mutual relations between the state and self-managing bodies;

—the expansion of the scope for the activity of economic subjects.

Now, unfortunately, attention is focused on state regulation measures when in our view **the main avenue for stabilization is the expansion of the sphere of activity of economic subjects.** The fiscal emphasis of the present economic policy, aimed primarily at balancing the budget, contradicts the interests of business. We stress that operational measures to activate the business sphere are the most promising, for they create preconditions for long-term stabilization and the reform of the economy on a market basis. Meanwhile, state regulation measures, particularly administrative and fiscal restrictions on economic freedom, could be assessed only as temporary because they essentially contradict their own market ideology.

The implementation of a regime of strict economy, like economic reform in general, should be implemented consistently and toughly. A firm hand, that is, a strong executive power capable of implementing its decisions, is very necessary under the conditions of deepening crisis and chaos.

Lithuania 'Ready to Recognize' SFRY Republic

LD2407230591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] These days Lithuania is getting ready to recognize the legitimacy of their drive and the self-determination as expression of peoples' sovereign power of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia. This is a very thorough and complicated wording of the notion that might be simply expressed by the word independence. But so far neither Lithuania nor Slovenia and Croatia are recognized as independent states by world communities and few believe that these newly founded states of Europe will get independence soon.

Lithuania, differently from Slovenia and Croatia, is restoring its independence that had been lost in 1940. Although Western states had never recognized Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union, it is already a year and a half that Lithuania has been waiting for some more concrete diplomatic recognition and it looks like it is going to wait still long enough.

Meanwhile Lithuanian parliamentarians have been handed in the drafts of a resolution by which the government of the Republic of Lithuania is instructed to enter into relations with the government of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia and to analyze all possibilities of entering into permanent diplomatic and other interstate relations.

The future recognition of Slovenia and Croatia is not going to be of symbolic nature for the sake of solidarity only, but will be based on concrete documents. Slovenia's president, Milan Kucan, addressed all countries and international organizations with an appeal to recognize the independent Republic of Slovenia that has found itself in real danger.

Meanwhile the president of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, sent a letter to the chairman of Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, asking to support Croatia's drive for international recognition. Three Lithuanian parliamentarians visited Croatia in the days of dramatic events. They had not been able to visit Slovenia due to military actions there, but as MP Rimvydas Valatka told Radio Vilnius today they have become the most sincere supporters of Slovenia's and Croatia's independence.

[Begin Valatka recording, in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] As the chairman of the Parliament of Croatia, Dr. Domljan pointed out, recognition of the Republic of Croatia by Lithuania would not change Croatia's political economic and military situation, but it would be a great moral support in Croatia's drive for independence. I think that Lithuania can make a step by international diplomacy due to the fact that the Lithuanian state has existed all these 50 years and that it has always been and still remains in the world politics. [end recording]

Mr. Rimvydas Valatka said that Lithuania, Slovenia and Croatias' situations are similar as they all are getting free from communist regime and driving for independence. Besides the differences that were mentioned before, Lithuania established its independence in 1918, Slovenia and Croatia doing it now, there are a lot of similarities said Rimvydas Valatka.

[Begin Valatka recording] Very soon it became clear to us that the separatism that Croatia is accused of is just the same that Lithuania is being accused of by mass media. The Baltic states have proposed [to] the Soviet Union a number of ways to come out of the economic crisis and have not found (?any answer). Slovenia and Croatia also offered their help to the administration of federal Yugoslavia. In Croatia there are certain national minorities who by all means try to join some parts of Croatia to Serbia, just as some national minorities of Lithuania pursue an analagous goal. There are some very acute similarities. (?The) Croatians are also very good basketball players and their industry is of similar structure with Lithuania.

Of course the industrial development level differs greatly and we wish Lithuania reached level at the end of the century. [end recording]

Lithuania's MP's were greatly impressed with Croatia's leader's knowledge about Lithuania's way to independence said Rimvydas Valatka.

[Begin Valatka recording] They have analyzed in detail Lithuania's policy after 11 March 1990. The chairman of foreign commission of Croatia's Sabor, or parliament, (Kacic), told us the newest Lithuanian history was astonishing exactly [as heard]. They follow, who else Lithuania, know about Scandinavian countries' support and think that the similar role in their case could be played by Italy and Austria. They have analyzed documents adopted by Lithuania, its relations with the Soviet Union and Western countries, trying to avoid our mistakes. They know surprisingly much about Lithuania. [end recording]

When, several years before, Lithuanian basketball players competed with a basketball team from Zagreb none of the Lithuanian newspapers mentioned that they were Croatian sportsmen as then Lithuania didn't know much about Croatia. Similarly few in Croatia knew Lithuania. Now the situation has changed. Lithuania is getting ready to recognize Croatia and Slovenia and there's no doubt that Lithuania will be recognized by these two new European states as soon as it is possible.

Vilnius TV Center Head Joins Hunger Strike

PM2507141191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 p 1

[Correspondent V. Zarovskiy report: "You Will Not Get Satisfaction From the OMON"]

[Text] Vilnius—The director of the Vilnius Television Center has joined the journalists' hunger strike.

The struggle to liberate the Vilnius Television Center from the Army has come to a head. S. Valjulis, the general director of the Television Center, has himself lain down in the hunger-striking Lithuanian journalists' trailer. I am not sure whether this step by the despairing leader will help matters. The military, and behind them the Lithuanian Communist Party workers who rule the roost here, are extremely sure of themselves. They occasionally chase away excessively curious foreign cameramen and tear down placards and newspaper clippings from the walls of the trailer. Articles from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA are particular targets.

I recently met with Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman V. Landsbergis, and asked: "Might Lithuania go along the same road as Slovenia and Croatia—that of armed military confrontation—to achieve independence?" He answered: "Lithuania is going its own way; it is not trying to confront the Armed Forces. We have different principles in our struggle and a different outlook. The Lithuanian Republic is achieving its aim primarily through its desire to restore legal relations on the basis of international law."

Basically, he once again confirmed Lithuania's desire to resolve questions in a peaceful way. But the only thing is: With whom? Once the disgraced "Pugoists" in Vilnius had piped down and the capital's new military prosecutor met with the republic's leadership (for the first time!), the tension seemed to die away. But, in my view, this is a deceptive impression. We must firmly grasp this fact: Every day that the Army remains in control of the occupied buildings separates Lithuania a little more from the rest of the country and Lithuanians from non-Lithuanians. S. Valjulis did the rounds of all the departments and all the chiefs in Moscow—and they all nodded their heads understandingly. Seeing that there was no possibility of coming to an arrangement with the Army, he went and lay down in the hunger strikers' trailer.

Signatures Collected To Protest 'Terrorist Acts'

OW2407040791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Lithuania, some 750,000 signatures have already been put under an appeal to the United Nations in connection with "endless terrorist acts on the part of the Soviet Army in Lithuania, as well as with the continuing occupation of the radio and television buildings, the TV tower and the Press House in Vilnius". The signature collection, which was started last spring, is to finish on August 5.

Joint-Stock, Individual Firms' Statistics

OW2407040891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to statistics published in Vilnius, some 4,000 closed joint-stock societies and individual firms had been set up in Lithuania by the beginning of this month, 1,493 of which have been registered in Vilnius and 1,200 in Kaunas. Nearly half of them specialise in mediator services. There are also 3,328 private firms registered in the republic which manufacture consumer goods, mainly clothing and footwear.

Poles React To Proposal of Vilnius District

LD2407195491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 24 Jul (TASS)—The reaction of Lithuania's Polish population to the proposals of the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium on tackling the problems of the Vilnius region has been termed one of bewilderment and indignation by Leonarda Sapkevich, chairwoman of the Coordinating Council in charge of setting up the Vilnius Polish National Territorial region, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent.

As has been reported, the congress of deputies of all levels from the Vilnius region who represent the interests

of the Polish national minority has decided to set up the Polish Autonomous National Territorial Region on the territory densely populated by Poles. The statute—a kind of basic law for the autonomous region—was approved. It provides for Sejm elections and for the extension of broad powers to it, right up to and including the adoption of its own laws. The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium instructed the government and a number of departments to continue preparations of a draft to set up a Vilnius district. However, these drafts do not so much as hint at the extension of real autonomy or broadening the rights and powers of the national minority. On the contrary, what is proposed is that the post of a government representative for this district should be set up, something that would deprive the Polish population of the last vestiges of independence.

We have no intention of reconciling ourselves with the fact that the republican leadership disregards our interests, trying to tackle our problems without having taken the population's views into account, Leonarda Sapkevich said. She advocated the convocation of a new congress of deputies of all levels of the Vilnius region.

Polish autonomy problems have also been poignantly raised in the Polish faction's appeal in the Lithuanian Parliament to the republican Supreme Soviet. It states that the Lithuanian Parliament's decision of 29 January this year, which envisages the setting up of a Vilnius okrug with its own statute and the working out of a program of higher education for national minorities, is not being implemented. We hope that our voice will be heeded and that it will be met with understanding, the appeal states.

Interior Ministry, Police To Be Strengthened

OW2507093591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0930 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has taken additional measures to strengthen its Interior Ministry and the police.

Among them is a resolution increasing salaries to the servicemen of these bodies. Thus, Vilnius Police Commissar will receive 990 rubles a month, police master sergeant—740 rubles and policeman—up to 680 rubles.

The resolution also envisions various bonuses: For qualification, for long service, etc. For example, after serving 20 years in the police one can get a bonus equivalent to 30

of his salary. Those who are regularly involved in risky operations can be granted threefold salaries.

The Lithuanian Police Academy intends to double the number of women-cadets. There will be now 60 girls among 500 first grade students. The girls will be trained as investigators, as specialists for dealing with "difficult" minors, for working in the traffic-patrol service, in statistics and analysis departments and in the criminal investigation department.

After finishing the first grade cadets must get the qualification as policemen.

After the third grade they can receive the degree of Bachelor of Law and the qualification of a lawyer.

After finishing the entire course cadets will be able to become Masters of Law.

Policeman Reportedly Beaten by Soviet Soldiers

LD2307120991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Report by Virgis Misiulis]

[Text] Lithuanian press spokesman Mr. Azubalis has stated that Zilvinas Aleksevicius, a policeman, was arrested and severely beaten by servicemen in Klaipeda on 20 July. The doctors said he suffered injuries to the legs, head, and back. When asked why the report had been delayed for such a long time, Mr. Azubalis said incidents like this are thoroughly investigated because there have been misleading reports. For example, a husband invited his friend over while his wife was out. When his wife returned and asked why the furniture was broken and the house a mess, he blamed the Special Purpose Militia Detachment.

Republic Livestock Output Continues To Decline

PM2507143991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lashkevich "Direct Line" report: "Lithuania: Production Decline Is Continuing"]

[Text] Vilnius—The results of Lithuania's socioeconomic development during the first six months testify to a continuing decline in the republic's output. The figures published by the Lithuanian Government Statistics Department are depressing. Although a total of 11.6 billion rubles of goods more than last year have been produced, everyone is perfectly well aware that this result is due only to the "flimsiness" of the ruble. The output of livestock products is down from last year (by 19 percent for meat and 13 percent for milk), and sales to the state of these products have also decreased. These figures are not surprising against the backdrop of the general reduction in the numbers of cattle (8 percent), hogs (12 percent), and sheep (40 percent) on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Furthermore, the decline in production indicators is taking place at a time when high prices for livestock products are in operation in Lithuania, which ought to be stimulating supply.

Yeltsin Reports Cabinet Appointments, POW Decree

OW2607033491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On July 25 the Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on appointments to the Russian government.

Igor Gavrilov is nominated deputy prime minister and minister of ecology and use of natural resources. Inga Grebesheva has become another deputy prime minister.

Andrey Kozyrev is appointed foreign minister; Igor Lazarev—finance minister; Mikhail Poltoranin—minister of the press and mass media.

Boris Yeltsin has also signed a decree "On privileges to former minors—prisoners of concentration camps, ghettos and other jails set up by facsists and their allies during the 2nd World War." The decree charges the Russian Foreign Ministry with discussing the possibility of allowing the former prisoners to visit places of their detention with Germany, Poland, Austria and other states where the fascist concentration camps and ghettos were built.

Further Reaction to Yeltsin Departyization Decree

Communist Party Statement

PM2507140591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Jul 91 First Edition p 1

["Statement by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Central Control Commission Presidium"]

[Text] On 20 July this year, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B.N. Yeltsin issued a Decree "On Halting the Activity of Organized Structures of Political Parties and Mass Social Movements in RSFSR State Organs, Establishments, and Organizations."

In fact, this decree deprives Russian citizens of their constitutional rights, strikes a crushing blow against our country's emerging democracy, hinders the development of the multiparty system, and obstructs the creation of new political and social movements. Even exercising the workers' sacred right of association in trade unions is put to doubt and is rendered possible only "upon agreement between the administration of state establishments, organizations, enterprises, and labor collectives."

The RSFSR Presidential Decree severely aggravates the political situation in the country and destroys the process of stabilization which is beginning to take shape. It crudely flouts universally recognized norms of international human rights declarations and agreements, and the Constitution and laws of the USSR and RSFSR.

By signing this document, B.N. Yeltsin has exceeded the authority bestowed upon him by the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR President," and especially Article 8 of this law according to which the RSFSR president issues decrees "on the basis of and in execution of the RSFSR Constitution and laws, and the decisions of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet." However, neither the RSFSR Constitution nor the republic organs of supreme power gave or give any grounds for restricting the activity of parties and movements. Moreover, repeated efforts to pass similar decisions at the congress of people's deputies failed to get the support of the majority of deputies and were rejected.

Thus the 20 July 1991 RSFSR Presidential Decree "On Halting the Activity of Organized Structures of Political Parties and Mass Social Movements in RSFSR State Organs, Establishments, and Organizations" has no juridical basis and is unlawful.

By voting for B.N. Yeltsin, millions of our fellow citizens expressed the hope for peace and civil accord in society. But their hopes were in vain. Just 10 days after B.N. Yeltsin's ceremonial oath, stating that as Russian President he will "comply with the RSFSR Constitution and RSFSR Laws... and respect and uphold the rights and freedoms of the individual and the citizen," he signed this unconstitutional act.

The Communists of Russia, who work in over 200,000 party organizations, enterprises, and institutions, strictly observe the USSR Law "On Social Associations in the USSR." Their activity is based on the CPSU Statutes, which were registered in accordance with this law by the USSR Ministry of Justice and envisages constructing the party on a territorial-industrial basis.

Given the above, the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Central Control Commission Presidium appeal:

—to all party organizations and Communists to remain calm and self-possessed, and to continue to work honestly and conscientiously;

—to the RSFSR People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet not to permit the violation of the RSFSR Constitution and the International Declaration of Human Rights;

—to all democratically-minded citizens of Russia, trade unions, political parties, and social organizations to protest against efforts to restrict their activity;

—to the USSR president, with an insistent demand that he declare the RSFSR presidential decree as having no legal force from the moment it was signed and that it be prevented from coming into force.

The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Central Control Commission Presidium are confident that the peoples of the Russian Federation will successfully defend their rights and avert the threat to democratic transformations in our country, wherever it may arise.
RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo
RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Committee Presidium

Ilin Calls Decree 'Anticonstitutional'

PM2507090991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by A. Shinkin: "Press Conference"]

[Text] Communists and working people have hoped that B.N. Yeltsin, having become Russian president, would set peace and civil consensus as his goal, and act as the gatherer of all forces for the republic's emergence from the crisis. These hopes have not been justified. This was stated at a press conference by A.N. Ilin, member of the Politburo and second secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee. Moreover, the decree ["On Halting the Activity of Organizational Structures of Political Parties and Mass Public Movements in State Bodies, Institutions, and Organizations of the RSFSR"] in no way agrees with the words which Yeltsin recently uttered when he assumed office. At the time he gave an assurance that as president of Russia he would observe the RSFSR Constitution and the laws of the RSFSR and respect and safeguard human and civil rights and freedoms. But not 10 days had elapsed before an anticonstitutional decree appeared. A crushing blow is thus being dealt to the true democracy which is emerging in our country. The decree naturally aggravates the sociopolitical situation in the country and undermines the process of its stabilization which has emerged.

The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee secretary expressed regret that the first Russian president has failed to heed the appeal of the republic's communist party for peace and cooperation and regarding its desire to support his sensible actions to emerge from the crisis. To journalists' question as to whether the RSFSR Communist Party would support this decree, the representatives of the Communist Party leadership replied that they would seek to insure that this normative document accords with the USSR and RSFSR constitutions and would strive to use all parliamentary means for the purpose.

Yeltsin Assures Trade Unions

LD2507193291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin had a meeting with Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions [FITU] Igor Klochkov today. The FITU chairman was satisfied with the explanations given by the president that the decree on departyization which has attracted sharp criticism does not in any way infringe upon the role of the local trade union organizations in society.

Leningrad Trade Union Assails Decree

LD2507211191 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Utyanskiy and Andrey Mazhorov]

[Text] Leningrad July 25 TASS—The Leningrad trade union centre declared against the Russian president's decree on departyisation of state structures, specifically trade unions.

The presidium of the regional federation of trade unions today adopted a decree which points out that the Russian president's decision is not in keeping with the USSR laws "on trade unions' rights and guarantees for their activity" and "on public organisations".

The document, specifically, says that "trade unions have a right to decide independently on their structure, on arranging their activity and controlling the observance of the legislation on labour".

The federation is anxious that the decree may be followed by a Russian law on trade unions in which the rights of trade unions will wholly depend on entrepreneurs.

Yuriy Belov, 53, leading ideologist of the Leningrad regional organisation of the CPSU, believes that the decree of Russian president Boris Yeltsin had become one of the stages of planned destruction of the country's communist party.

He believes the document means an onslaught on democracy. As one of the authors of the statement of the Leningrad regional committee bureau on departyization in Russia, Belov told TASS that he believes the decree is connected with the recently adopted law on privatization on the Russian territory.

"The law envisages large-scale, unlimited privatization and the new authorities apparently wish it to be implemented without any control", Belov said. "Party committees which kept from interfering in enterprises' economic activities for over two years are, just as trade union committees, the sole protective mechanism of the working people. The decree essentially gives room to unlimited power of private capital. Talk about the equality of all forms of property is nothing but a declaration", he said.

Belov is of opinion that although more people will quit the CPSU, it will still remain a mass party. It can adopt various tactic: set up new organisations on industrial or territorial principles. But in any case the party will be preserved.

Yeltsin Meets Union Leader Klochkov

OW2607084991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On July 25, President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, met with Chairman of the republic's Federation of Independent Trade Unions, Igor Klochkov.

Yeltsin assured Igor Klochkov that the decree on the departyization of state bodies, establishments and organizations of the Russian Federation did not at all encroach on the role of trade union organizations at enterprises as a whole. Executive bodies, he said, will constructively cooperate with trade unions and respect their position.

The president commended the draft laws on legal guarantees of trade union activity and on collective agreements, proposed by the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, which will be considered at the autumn session of the Russian Federation's parliament. If adopted, these laws will help trade unions switch over to civilized forms of social partnership with state bodies and employers.

Boris Yeltsin and Igor Klochkov also discussed interaction between structures of the executive authority and the Russian Federation's trade union centre.

They also talked about measures to enhance social guarantees, create mechanisms of wage indexing, form the employment fund and organize re-training courses, and also about ways of perfecting social insurance and pension provision, and the formation of the Medical Insurance Fund.

An agreement was reached on organizing Boris Yeltsin's meeting with the leaders of the Federation's branches and regional organizations.

Klochkov Satisfied

LD2507152691 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met Chairman of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions (FIRTU) Igor Klochkov here today to discuss the interaction between new Russian executive structures with the federation and the role of trade unions in protecting workers' rights and interests during the transition to a market.

The two discussed new social guarantees, indexing wages in line with rising prices and urgent measures to set up the employment fund and retraining services, Klochkov told reporters after the meeting.

They stressed the need to upgrade social insurance programmes and increase pensions, set up an insurance medicine fund and changes in the labour code.

Klochkov said he was satisfied by Yeltsin's explanation that the decree disbanding party cells in state bodies and organisations by no means affects the place and role of trade union organisations in society.

"There is an impression that Russian executive authorities intend to cooperate constructively with trade unions and respect their opinion," he said.

The president approves bills on "legal guarantees for trade union work" and "on collective agreements" introduced by the FIRTU, he said. The bills will be discussed by the Russian parliament this autumn.

"The passage of these legal acts will help trade unions to move over to civilised forms of social partnership with state bodies and employers," he stressed.

Communique on Yeltsin Kyrgyzstan Visit Published

PM2507153591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jul 91 p 1

[TASS-attributed "Communique on the Results of the Official Visit by the President of the RSFSR to the Republic of Kyrgyzstan"]

[Text] "A visit to the Republic of Kyrgyzstan by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president took place 20-22 July 1991. It was B.N. Yeltsin's first official visit since his election as RSFSR president.

"Talks were held between the Russian Federation and Kyrgyzstan delegations 21 July. The following took part in the talks on the Russian side: I. Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers; G. Burbulis, RSFSR state secretary; S. Shakhray, RSFSR state counselor and chairman of a Supreme Soviet committee; I. Lazarev, finance minister; A. Kolosovskiy, deputy foreign minister; and other officials. On the Kyrgyz side participants were: A. Akayev, president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan; M. Sheremkulov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet; G. Kuznetsov, vice president; N. Isanov, prime minister; and other republic leaders.

"As a result of the talks the Russian and Kyrgyz presidents signed a Treaty on the Basic Principles of Interstate Relations Between the RSFSR and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. The treaty is based on norms of international law designed to ensure the principle of equal rights in interstate relations. The heads of government of the two republics concluded an agreement defining spheres of joint interest in tackling the most important economic and social problems of Russia and Kyrgyzstan. An accord on preparing a specific economic cooperation program between the two republics was reached. The

finance ministers signed an agreement allocating credit to Kyrgyzstan for a number of specific programs whose solution is of mutual interest in various spheres, particularly the sphere of providing Russian and Kyrgyz markets with consumer goods.

"The treaty pays special attention to guarantees of human rights and particularly those of national minorities living on the territory of the two republics. On behalf of the republic state leadership, the Kyrgyz president pledged to help to ensure the civil and economic rights of the Russian and Slav populations of Kyrgyzstan. Similar pledges regarding the Kyrgyz population living on Russian territory were made by the president of the Russian Federation. A meeting was held between the presidents of the two republics and the leadership of the Slav Foundation operating in Kyrgyzstan.

"In assessing the results of the visit by the official state delegation of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the sides noted its high productiveness. Reliable foundations for mutually beneficial and equal cooperation between the two sovereign states were laid. The proximity of the political courses of the two republics in many areas was revealed. Spheres of mutual interest were defined and their common resolve to found a new union—a union of equal and sovereign states—was expressed."

The communique on the results of the visit was circulated by P. Voshchanov, RSFSR presidential press secretary.

Leningrad Economic 'Slump' Discussed

LD2607050991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The results of the development of the economy of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast are also cheerless. They were published today. The slump in production has affected seven out of 10 leading sectors of industry in that region. In the first half of the year, housing starts in Leningrad came to only 25 percent of that envisaged for this year. Of course, as noted by our correspondent, there are also some successes: 93 industrial enterprises were working under leasing conditions in the city; 13 Leningrad foreign trade firms delivered produce for export to the sum of more than 100 million rubles to 31 countries. Exports exceeded imports.

Free Economic Zone Set Up in Leningrad

OW2407091391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a news briefing in the Leningrad City Council Tuesday, Anatoliy Chubays, chief economic adviser to the mayor of Leningrad and head of the group developing a program of setting up the Leningrad free economic zone, said that a draft program on the free economic zone is to be submitted for consideration to the USSR President's aspparatus within a few days. Mr. Chubays pointed out "positive attitude of the Union and Russian leadership toward the creation of the zone".

The draft envisions setting up tax-free and duty-free areas and the introduction of special guarantees for foreign investment. It is also planned to divide the city into business, tourist, etc. subzones.

Mr. Chubays noted that the zone's creation has virtually begun. Corresponding documents will be adopted within two or three months and, possibly, the day of the Leningrad free economic zone will be announced already this year."

Academics Ask Popov To Recall Nikolskiy

OW2407085491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an open letter to Moscow's Mayor Gavriil Popov, the electors' club of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR has condemned the appointment of Mr. Boris Nikolskiy to the post of vice premier of the city government and called on him to reconsider his decision. The authors of the letter think that Mr. Nikolskiy's moral qualities do not allow him to hold this office.

Mr. Nikolskiy was a secretary of Georgia's Communist Party Central Committee at the time of the grievous events in April 1989 in Tbilisi.

The authors of the letter quote the findings of the commission set up by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR to look into the incidents in Tbilisi, which was headed by Mr. Anatoliy Sobchak, and the opinions of Mssrs Sobchak and Shevardnadze about the events to substantiate the claim that Mr. Nikolskiy was one of the main figures behind the April 9 bloodbath in Tbilisi, when a peaceful demonstration was dispersed, and behind the hush-up campaign that followed.

Status of Autonomous Oblasts Upgraded

PM2407152191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1

[From IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, REUTER, and IAN roundup: "New Republics Within the RSFSR"]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, guided by the RSFSR Declaration on State Sovereignty and the RSFSR Constitution, has resolved to transform Adyge, Gorno-Altay, Karachayevo-Cherkess, and Khakass Autonomous Oblasts within their existing borders into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Adyge and the Gorno-Altay,

Karachayevo-Cherkess, and Khakass Soviet Socialist Republics respectively, forming part of the RSFSR

The citizens of these republics are at the same time RSFSR citizens. If a republic law conflicts with an RSFSR law, the RSFSR law prevails.

Leader of Free Democratic Party Interviewed

PM2507151591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jul 91 p 2

[Interview with Marina Salye, cochairman of the Free Democratic Party of Russia, by correspondent Yuriy Kukanov; date and place unspecified: "Party Does Not Want Freedom of Expropriation"]

[Text] Yet another color has appeared in the country's vivid political spectrum: The creation of the Free Democratic Party of Russia [FDPR] was announced 22-23 June at its constituent conference in Leningrad. More than 200 delegates from 15 cities in the republic adopted the FDPR Statutes and its program documents. Three party cochairmen were elected: Russian People's Deputies Lev Ponomarev, Igor Soshnikov, and Marina Salye—a geologist by training, a doctor of science, and a Leningrad City Soviet deputy, who talked with our own correspondent Yuriy Kukanov.

[Kukanov] What is the fundamental difference between the Free Democrats and the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] headed by Nikolay Travkin?

[Salye] As is well known, the DPR split at its first congress. Both for ideological reasons and for organizational reasons. We are setting up a parliamentary-style party which should have no vertical structure based on the principle of democratic centralism. We take a different approach to party membership: People who share our convictions need only support the party materially. There are no provisions in the statutes about "active participation."

The main difference in the program positions is our recognition and demand for the enshrining in the Constitution of the status of private property as sacred and untouchable. So far the FDPR is the only party to have proclaimed this principle. We are convinced that private property alone can guarantee the independence and freedom of the individual—on the basis of which civilized society shapes all other legal institutions. Otherwise the talk about human rights will be no more than fiction.

The resolution "Russia's Democratic Future in Danger" adopted by the constituent congress, in which the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon is analyzed, is of fundamental importance for us.

[Kukanov] What is your attitude to the emergence of the "Movement for Democratic Reforms" and Eduard Shevardnadze's idea of setting up a representative democratic party in the USSR which would operate in parallel with the CPSU?

[Salye] It should be a movement rather than a party. And such a movement exists—"Democratic Russia." It is impossible to set up such a movement within the framework of the USSR today. After all, a number of republics have stated their unswerving desire to secede from the Union. It is possible to form such a movement on a coalition basis within the republics which remain. But the idea of setting up a single mass party in opposition to the CPSU makes me wary. Suppose it were set up. Then what? Is there not an analogy with the situation where a single party came to power in Russia and very soon after banned all other parties? We well know what happened as a result.

[Kukanov] In their program documents the Free Democrats stated that they are in opposition to the CPSU and make it their immediate task to remove the Communists from power. Some time ago signatures were being actively collected in the city to advocate a referendum on the CPSU's national property. What was the result?

[Salye] I want to emphasize that in no event are we talking about expropriation. We stake no claim to legally acquired property—the people should have returned to them property which the CPSU has acquired illegally. In my view, few people will have any doubt that the CPSU budget has been receiving not just party dues and income from publishing and other economic activity, but taxpayers' funds as well.

Housing Privatization Procedure, Progress Viewed

PM2507154591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by N. Chernyshova and V. Gaydamovich]

[Text] [Announcer] The Law on Privatization of Housing in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] was adopted 4 July. This means that citizens are entitled to privately own their housing. I will cite a few figures so you can understand the starting conditions for our country's housing market. There are 53 million apartments in the country and 6.5 million citizens live in communal apartments. There are 50 million people waiting in line for housing, 23 million of whom don't even have five square meters of housing each.

[Chernyshova] I must add that last year construction workers fulfilled only 50-percent of the plan. Yet our citizens earn roughly 400 rubles [R] on average. It is against this backdrop that privatization will start.

Are you sure that the law is fair?

[A.F. Poryadin, chairman of RSFSR Committee for Housing and Municipal Services; identified by caption] There has been a great deal of study of the questions of social justice and security, including in conjunction with trade unions at various levels, and we reckon that the law contains sufficiently large norms to ensure social justice and resolve the housing issue.

[Chernyshova] It is probably impossible to produce a law that suits everyone. The main point enshrined in this document is the principle of voluntariness. If you want to sell, give, or bequeath your apartment, buy one. There's no need if you don't want to. The question of what you can buy and how much is far harder. Because, on the one hand, there are normatives governing housing that is handed over free of charge—for the republic no less than 18 meters per person and nine meters for each member of a family. But there are also a host of factors that affect not only the value of the excess area, but also normative coefficients. These coefficients are linked with the area's prestige, the quality of the home, and a host of other parameters.

We visited two apartments with the commission's chairman. The first was the kind of apartment that everyone dreams of; five people were living in an area of 89 square meters.

Will the owner have to pay a supplement?

[Poryadin] Judging by the area that we were cited and the number of people living here, we think that under the law's normative, this area will be transferred in its entirety free of charge, so to speak.

[Chernyshova] We had great difficulty in entering the second apartment. It was one of the well-known jerry-built blocks of flats.

[Poryadin] Considering that one person lives in this apartment, there will be a small sum of money to pay. At current prices one square meter of housing in these apartments costs under R100.

[Chernyshova] So, though the two apartments differ in value, the difference is not that considerable. But quality is another matter. The question of employing value-based coefficients is not a simple one. Therefore work on legal acts must clearly define this so that everyone is aware of the situation—and not just the housing privatization commission.

[Announcer] I would add that privatization has as many supporters as enemies. They reckon that this law is based on a dubious idea—that the housing market will be able to develop on the basis of the existing housing stock and it will thus be possible to solve the problem by market mechanisms of redistribution, which is doubtful. But the law's adversaries reckon that the privatization of housing only benefits the rich. And for the hundreds of thousands of people waiting in line it represents the end of their hope of obtaining an apartment.

But the RSFSR State Committee for Statistics reports that in the first five months of this year 304,600 apartments worth more than R100 million have been sold to private owners. Stavropol, Krasnodar, and Altay Krays and Volgograd and Omsk Oblasts have successfully privatized housing. At the same time Kirov Oblast has sold just seven apartments, while Sakhalin and Tuva have sold eight each, and nine apartments have been sold in Leningrad.

Party Leaders Still Holding Soviet Posts Listed

PM2507151191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jul 91 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Two Carts, One Driver"]

[Text] The editorial office has been receiving letters asking us to say which Soviet leaders are still holding the posts of Soviet chairman and first secretary of a CPSU obkom [oblast party committee], contrary to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution of 30 January 1991. We are publishing the list.

A.Kh. Galazov is chairman of the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and, at the same time, first secretary of North Ossetia RSFSR Communist Party Obkom. The same posts are held by D.G. Zavgayev in the Chechen-Ingush Republic, V.I. Chaptynov in the Gorno-Altay ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], A.A. Dzharimov in the Adyge ASSR, and V.Ye. Lesnichenko in the Karachayevo-Cherkess Republic. I.S. Boldyrev is chairman of Stavropol Kray Soviet of People's Deputies and first secretary of Stavropol RSFSR Communist Party Kraykom [Kray Committee]. A.F. Ponomarev is chairman of the Belgorod Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and simultaneously first secretary of Belgorod RSFSR Communist Party Obkom. The same posts are held by V.V. Sudarenkov in Kaluga Oblast, Yu.N. Semenov in Kaliningrad Oblast, A.I. Seleznev in Kursk Oblast, V.V. Donskikh in Lipetsk Oblast, N.A. Volodin in Orel Oblast, B.F. Zubkov in Penza Oblast, L.P. Yevdokimov in the Komi-Permyatskiy Autonomous Okrug, L.I. Khitrun in Ryazan Oblast, K.P. Murenin in Saratov Oblast, Ye.M. Podolskiy in Tambov Oblast, A.F. Voystrochenko in Bryansk Oblast, and Yu.F. Goryachev in Ulyanovsk Oblast.

Ingush Republic To Be Part of RSFSR

AU2407103091 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 5 Jul 91 p 2

["Declaration on the Proclamation of the Ingush Republic as a Part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]," adopted 20 June 1991]

[Text] **On 20 June 1991, a congress of Ingush people's deputies at all levels was convened in the town of Nazran.**

A Declaration on the Proclamation of the Ingush Republic Within the RSFSR was adopted at the congress.

The congress elected the Executive Committee, which will promote the implementation of the RSFSR law "On the Rehabilitation of the Peoples Subjected to Repressions" passed on 26 April 1991.

Having assembled at our congress, we, the people's deputies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Chechen-Ingush Republic, the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as rayon, city, settlement, and village soviets elected on the territories densely populated by the Ingush, in accordance with the Resolution of the Extraordinary Congress of the Ingush People adopted on 27 March 1991:

—being aware of our historic responsibility for the fate of the Ingush people and the peoples residing on the territory of Ingushetia and realizing our high responsibility before the present and future generations of our compatriots;

—based on the natural and inalienable right of every nation to self-determination;

—firmly resolved to guarantee the right of man to enjoy freedom and a decent life and to achieve civic peace and international accord;

—proceeding from the principles of international law and the current RSFSR and USSR legislation and recognizing the supremacy of human rights proclaimed by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by international pacts;

—guided by the USSR Supreme Soviet Declaration of 14 November 1989 "On Qualifying as Illegal and Criminal the Acts of Repression Against Peoples Subjected to Forced Deportation and on Guaranteeing Their Rights," the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 7 March 1991 "On the Repeal of Legislative Acts in Connection With the Declaration of 14 November 1989 'On Qualifying as Illegal and Criminal the Acts of Repression Against Peoples Subjected to Forced Deportation and on Guaranteeing Their Rights,'" the law of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic adopted on 26 April 1991 "On the Rehabilitation of Peoples Subjected to Repressions," the State Sovereignty Declaration of the Chechen-Ingush Republic adopted on 27 November 1990 in which it is pointed out that the Chechen-Ingush Republic supports the just demand of the Ingush people for the restoration of their statehood;

—in order to eliminate the tragic consequences of genocide and lawlessness practiced by the Stalinist regime and to eradicate all deformations and distortions of universal human values;

—realizing that only the restoration of the statehood of the Ingush people will create favorable conditions for the development of the Ingush people and of the peoples residing in Ingushetia and for a stabilization of the sociopolitical situation;

—based on the will of the Ingush people as expressed at congresses of the Ingush people and in the legally registered collection of more than 62,000 signatures in favor of the creation of the Ingush Republic within the RSFSR, and thereby expressing the will of the Ingush people, **proclaim the creation of the Ingush Republic within its historical boundaries as a part of the Russian Federation.**

The Ingush Republic guarantees all its residents, irrespective of their national, race, or religious denominations, all the freedoms provided for in the Constitution of the RSFSR, in the Constitution of the USSR, and in generally recognized norms of international law.

The Ingush Republic guarantees equal legal opportunities to participate in the management of state and social affairs to all its citizens, political parties, and social and religious organizations functioning within the framework of the RSFSR Constitution.

The Ingush Republic declares its allegiance to the universally recognized principles of international law, its readiness to live in peace and accord with all the peoples of the world and to take all measures for the prevention of confrontation in interrepublican and interethnic relations, thereby defending the interests of the peoples of Ingushetia.

Until the adoption of a Constitution of the Ingush Republic the RSFSR laws are valid on the territory of the Ingush Republic.

The present declaration was adopted unanimously at the congress by people's deputies of the soviets at all levels elected on the territory of Ingushetia.

[Signed] M.Kh. Lyanov, chairman of the Congress of People's Deputies.

Ukraine

Deputy Khmara Rearrested in Kiev Hotel Room

PM2507105991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 91 Union Edition p 7

[Report by correspondent S. Tsikora: "Virtually a Military Operation"]

[Text] Kiev—Passions have once again started raging over the case of Stepan Khmara, Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputy, who was rearrested 18 July and taken to Kiev's Lukyanovskaya prison.

This is the deputy's third arrest in eight months. On this occasion he was taken into custody under a decision of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court, which deemed it necessary to resort to this measure because of Khmara's repeated failure to appear at a court sitting...

The deputy's arrest will surely once again stir up a wave of political tension in the Ukraine. The impetus for this will be provided not so much by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court's decision itself as the details of its execution.

Khmara was arrested at Kiev's "Ukraina" Hotel, where he resides permanently as a deputy. That day he was celebrating his daughter's coming of age. Not only the deputy's friends but also a considerable number of journalists, including some from foreign publications, were in his room.

Seeing the "strange" preparations by people in military uniform, who had stretched out a tarpaulin under the hotel's windows and then cordoned off the block, the participants in the name-day celebration sensed something was wrong and barricaded themselves in. Members of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] wearing helmets and flak jackets broke the door down, used "cheremukha" gas, and seized a photographer's film. A group of guests, escaping from the tear gas, tied wet towels around their heads and occupied the balcony. Kiev City Soviet deputies and the defendant's lawyer caught it [Dostalos deputatam]. The OMON members picked Khmara up and carried him out of the hotel.

People's Deputy L. Skorik called me direct from the room and recounted that for several hours after Khmara's arrest the militia held her, other deputies, and journalists under lock and key in a hotel room reeking of gas, without bringing any charges. When the telephone that had been cut off started working again, the Soviet and foreign correspondents started to report the incident to their publications direct from the room of their host, who had been carted off to prison.

It is hard to say who found it necessary to arrest the people's deputy in this particular way, but the repetitiveness of the situation attracts attention to itself: As soon as the situation in the country starts to stabilize, some kind of scandalous extraordinary incident unfailingly takes place.

Actions During Arrest Evoke Protests

PM2507145991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by S. Tsikora. "Deputies Accuse OMON"]

[Text] Kiev—The operation to arrest Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputy S. Khmara in a Kiev hotel, which was accompanied by the cordoning off of the district, the halting of municipal transport, the callout of fire engines, and the use of tear gas, has evoked a wave of protests and accusations of irresponsibility and lawlessness against the militia.

Four spontaneous rallies held in Kiev in the last few days provide graphic evidence of this reaction. The suprising element here is the changes which the mood of the city's inhabitants have undergone during this short period. People are now less concerned about the lawfulness of this, the third arrest of Deputy S. Khmara, and more concerned about the legitimacy of the OMON's [Special Purpose Militia Detachment's] actions in respect of the Kiev Soviet deputies and journalists who were in S. Khmara's hotel room at the time.

The press conference urgently called at the Ukrainian SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] failed to "relieve the pressure" as regards public opinion. Journalists did not obtain from the superior militia officers who directed the operation a sensible answer to the question as to who locked them up for four hours in the hotel room after S. Khmara had been arrested and taken away, and why. They were also unable to obtain an explanation as to what paragraph of the law the militia was guided by in removing the film from a journalist's camera. The video recording made by an MVD cameraman when the OMON burst into the hotel room has not been made available to the press. A short fight ensued between the militia and some of S. Khmara's guests and ended discouragingly for the representatives of the law enforcement organs—10 OMON members were hospitalized while only six of their opponents required medical assistance and only four had to be hospitalized. These details were cited at the press conference.

It was after this that the Kiev Soviet deputies who were in the room caught it. Neither their deputies' passes nor their gray hair were able to save them from physical reprisals, although the leadership of the Kiev Internal Affairs Department testified again at a city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] session that they had not taken part in the fight and had not hampered the militia in the discharge of its duties.

Colonel A. Kotenko, acting chief of the Kiev Internal Affairs Department, told the gorispolkom session that a special inspection is officially investigating everything

that took place. However, this failed to satisfy the deputies. During the gorispolkom session itself the city prosecutor was handed complaints by the deputies in question about the militia's illegal actions. Other deputies proposed that the city authorities' 50-ruble wage supplement paid to OMON members for good services be deducted from their wages, and that steps be taken without delay to set up a municipal militia which "will ensure people's tranquil life, rather than just the tranquillity of the powers that be." There was no opposition to the proposal by the "greens" to convene an extraordinary session of the city soviet with a view to comprehensively discussing the work of the Kiev militia.

Lvov Soviet Urges End to 'Persecution'

OW2607080091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lvov regional Soviet of People's Deputies has urged the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council "to stop the trial and, virtually, the political persecution of the Ukrainian people's deputy and member of the Lvov regional Soviet of People's Deputies Stepan Khmara."

A group of Khmara's supporters has reportedly issued an appeal to the opposition Ukrainian Republican party, the Democratic Bloc and delegates to a congress of Ukrainian offices to open July 27 in Kiev on the RUKH's [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] initiative to take an action of protest against "repressing the people's deputy" near the Kiev City Court building July 26.

Ukrainian Party Supports 'United CPSU'

LD2607050591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0843 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 25 Jul (TASS)—Stanislav Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke on republican television on Wednesday evening, calling for a strengthening of the ranks of the CPSU and for striving to consolidate all healthy forces in the party. He noted that the republic's Communist Party is a component part of the CPSU and adheres in principled fashion to the program positions of the CPSU. However, proceeding from historic traditions and the situation in the republic, it will all the same conduct its own independent policy in the interests of the people of the Ukraine. But the Ukrainian Communist Party continues to stand as before for the unity of party ranks. Supporting the idea of the Ukrainian parliament about full sovereignty for the republic, the Communist Party comes out resolutely for preserving a united CPSU.

Talking about the current complex situation in the party, Stanislav Gurenko stressed that former leaders drew it into a crisis situation. All of those who want to build a multiparty system on its ruins are continuing to heat up the situation. They are trying to split the Party in order to force it to capitulate more quickly, the first secretary of the Central Committee noted: "It is a pity that up to now there hasn't been a principled political appraisal of such actions".

Stanislav Gurenko reported that right now the Central Committee of Ukrainian Communist Party is working on a new program for the Party. The main idea is the stabilization of the situation in the Party and measures to raise people's living standards.

Fokin Receives Greek Prime Minister

LD2507223791 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya and Ivan Saiko]

[Text] Kiev July 25 TASS—The visiting Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis of the Hellenic Republic was today received by his Ukrainian counterpart, Vitold Fokin.

Mitsotakis is currently in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the president of the USSR.

During a frank and friendly conversation, Fokin pointed out that the political and economic situation in the republic is complex now. The Ukrainian parliament has adopted a government-elaborated programme of extraordinary measures to stabilise the Ukrainian economy and take it out of the crisis.

The republican government, at its enlarged meeting recently, endorsed a mechanism for the implementation of the programme. The Ukraine's foreign economic relations gain in scope, with contacts with the Hellenic Republic figuring prominently among them.

On the same day Mitsotakis met Ivan Plyushch, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, who told him about the work of the Ukrainian parliament that had passed 220 legal acts over the year that had passed since the declaration of the Ukraine's state sovereignty.

Forty-six out of these legal acts concern the constitutional principles of statehood, democracy and self-government of the people of the Ukraine. Special attention was devoted to the implementation of the declaration's provisions in the international sphere in particular.

During talks in the government and parliament of the republic, the two sides pointed out that the Ukraine and Greece have long-standing good relations that are rooted in history and that their peoples are brought together by traditionally strong friendship. At the present stage of cooperation, the Ukraine and Greece intend to broaden bilateral contacts.

Mitsotakis laid a wreath at the unknown soldier's tomb in the Park of Eternal Glory.

The prime minister of Greece and his wife familiarised themselves with Kiev, toured the sights of the city and made a riverboat cruise along the Dnieper.

Georgia

Supreme Soviet Discusses Economic 'Crisis'

LD2607012991 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Tbilisi July 25 TASS—The deficit of Georgia's state budget for 1991 made up over four billion roubles. This was announced today at a regular meeting of the first session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, which discussed the ways of overcoming Georgia's economic crisis. The Georgian parliament instructed the government to draft and to submit to it a specific programme of actions as soon as possible.

The Georgian Supreme Soviet adopted a series of legislative acts aimed at improving the republic's economy and resolving social problems. They include laws on fundamentals of entrepreneurial activity, on employment, on the basic principles of the tax system, on foreign investments and their protection. The participants in the meeting also adopted a law on the signing, ratification, fulfilment and denunciation of international agreements by the Republic of Georgia.

On the same day the parliament endorsed the decision on Georgia's joining the July 1, 1968 treaty on nuclear non-proliferation. The republic's Supreme Soviet addressed the Armenian and Azerbaijanian parliaments with the proposal to follow suit, which will be a step towards creating a nuclear-free zone in the Transcaucasia.

Gamsakhurdia Describes 'Catastrophe' in Republic

OW2607072191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in the republican Ministers Council meeting described the situation in the republic as close to catastrophe. According to the President there are two main reasons for that; the first is the economic blockade carried out by the Centre to the republic and the second is corruption, sabotage and unwillingness of many people in the republic to work honestly.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia notified the government that if it does not take necessary measures for eradicating these drawbacks, the people will propose to replace it.

The President also suggested creating anti-blockade fund in Georgia as they did in Lithuania.

Adviser on Economic Development Outlook

AU2507095291 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 5 July 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Givi Tsalkalamanidze, leading adviser to the Government of the Republic of Georgia on questions of foreign relations, by SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA correspondent Ketevan Amiredzhibi: "A Joint Risk, the Consumer, and the Interests of Georgia"]

[Text] **The nearly empty commodity market, the imminent superinflation, and the absence of science-intensive industries—all of these are evidence of the crisis in which our economy has found itself, an economy that, for decades, has been devastated by the administrative command system and by the army of officials and bureaucrats. However, there exist ways of emerging from the deadlock. An extensive recruitment of investments is one such way. In this connection, a SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA correspondent turned to Mr. Givi Tsalkalamanidze, a leading adviser to the Government of the Republic of Georgia on questions of foreign relations and asked him to answer a number of questions.**

[Amiredzhibi] Joint enterprises are opening up the road to foreign investments in the devastated Georgian economy. This is the reason why many people would like to know what the situation is with regard to the creation of joint enterprises, how many of them already exist, and who has established a partnership with whom.

[Tsalkalamanidze] As is known, the creation of joint enterprises started in 1988. There now exist up to 100 such enterprises in Georgia.

Firms of many industrially developed states have become our partners: The United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Canada, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Finland, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Ireland, and also Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Venezuela, and other countries. Apart from this, Georgian organizations have created joint enterprises in United Arab Emirates and in Libya. There exist joint enterprises in Tbilisi, Batumi, Sukhumi, Rustavi, Poti, Lanchkhuti, Kobuleti, Vani, Gudauri, [illegible] Ozurgeti.

The joint enterprises export output is worth more than $30 million. Exports from Georgia include cast steel (joint enterprise "Marten"), secondary aluminum (joint enterprise "Alu-Sakartvelo"), welding equipment (joint enterprise "Rionvelka"), wine, fruit juices, jams, and stewed fruit (joint enterprise "Vani").

Let me now talk about commodities imported to Georgia by joint enterprises. These are mainly machines and equipment for our own needs, as well as computers, instruments, medicines, leather, and consumer goods. The imports amount to $20 million.

The orientation of a number of joint enterprises in accordance with specific branches of industry is in perfect conformity with contemporary requirements: I have in mind aircraft construction (joint enterprise

"Nino," Georgia and the United States), electronics (joint enterprise "Elsi," Georgia and the United States), assembling computer technology facilities (joint enterprise "Tbilisoft," Georgia and the United States), the creation of industrial research centers and laboratories (joint enterprise "Prometheus," Georgia and Germany), the construction of international-class hotels (joint enterprise "Metekhi," Georgia and Austria), and the production of cement (joint enterprise "Sakamertsement," Georgia and the United States).

Many joint enterprises manufacture consumer goods. Several joint enterprises of agro-industrial orientation and dealing with tourism have also been created.

The joint enterprises have sold merchandise worth $3 million and 100,000 rubles [R] on the Soviet market. Just for your information: Over three years, the joint enterprises have created 2,500 jobs in Georgia.

[Amiredzhibi] Are there any difficulties in the creation and functioning of joint enterprises?

[Tsalkalamanidze] Of course, there are. They can briefly be formulated as follows: In fact, there is no system of material and technical supply service, the construction of their facilities is poorly provided for, and there is no guaranteed state protection of the investments of foreign partners in the joint enterprises. It is true that the English for the joint enterprise is "joint venture," which means "joint risk." However, under present conditions, this risk is much too great and goes beyond the boundaries of the admissible, and therefore, for the time being, the rates of the creation of joint enterprises in Georgia do not correspond either to our high potential or to the acute need to develop the economy on an advanced modern technological basis. For example, we have not, so far, heard of joint enterprises in such specific branches of industry as wine-making, tea- and tobacco-growing, and the bottling of mineral water; nor do we have it in the sphere of transport, power engineering, metallurgy, or chemical industry.

Machine building, especially that involving precision technology, is quite poorly affected by the activity of joint enterprises, despite the fact that this branch is particularly promising for Georgia, whose territory and population are small.

[Amiredzhibi] Let us try and compare Georgia with other countries that have similar territories: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. What conclusions can we draw in such a case?

[Tsalkalamanidze] This is the conclusion: As a matter of fact, there is virtually no modern science-intensive economy in Georgia and, strictly speaking, there is no competitive industrial or agricultural output. Incidentally, no more than five percent of the population in all the capitalist countries that you have listed are employed in agriculture. Animal husbandry and the production of meat and milk are particularly well-developed, including that for export. They export and import so much that they cannot be compared either with Georgia, or even with the USSR as a whole. For example, Soviet exports, which amount to $110 billion, equal those of the Netherlands, whose territory is much smaller than that of Georgia. Belgian and Luxembourg exports (their total territory is one-half that of Georgia) reach $97.5 billion, that is to say, this is also, in fact, identical to the exports of such a giant as the USSR. Even Singapore, whose territory is 619 square kilometers and population 2.6 million, has exports amounting to (?10) [number indistinct] percent of Soviet exports! The above facts show us how effective these countries' investments in our economy may turn out to be. Joint enterprises are a reliable and generally recognized form of investment. For example, the Japanese have dozens of prosperous joint enterprises in Taiwan. Concerning our situation, it is clear that neither Japanese nor any other major investors will risk becoming involved in large business here unless the economy is radically restructured and the investments are protected.

[Amiredzhibi] In your opinion, what, specifically, should be done for this?

[Tsalkalamanidze] First and foremost, fundamental preconditions inherent in a market economy must be created. They involve, first, demonopolization; in other words, industrial enterprises should no longer be subordinated to departmental ministries or agencies.

Second, the activity of industrial enterprises must be financed by commercial banks and not by the state budget. Moreover, there must be no subsidies from the state budget. The success or failure of commodity producers must be determined solely by the market. Third, it is necessary to enhance the inflow of the population's monetary deposits into the banks; in order to achieve this, the rate of interest for the investments of the population, both for a specified period of time and current, must be considerably raised. Besides, in order to protect that part of the population which will become investors in commercial banks from financial failure, the state must create reserve funds based on a part of the taxes. Such an experience was gained in the United States after the great depression, and also in the FRG and in other developed countries.

[Amiredzhibi] In your opinion, is there a danger that former dealers in the shadow economy, having acquired a legal status, may take advantage of such opportunities?

[Tsalkalamanidze] Of course there is. However, there is no other way to derive benefit for society from the money they have accumulated. These people and their capital must find their place in a renewed economy. We are not so rich that we can afford to disregard such a fact. We must, and this seems to be the main point, introduce a joint-stock and private form of ownership, a form which has proved to be effective worldwide. Besides, a controlling block of shares must be at the disposal of the government. This requirement applies even to those enterprises and organizations that are state property.

The remaining portion of shares must be transferred to private owners. This principle may also be extended to agro-industrial enterprises. This is only reasonable: For example, some people believe that all the land in the republic must be divided and distributed as property among future farmers. However, in this case there is a danger that land will be bought up by rich foreigners—there are not many small private owners in our republic who would resist large capital. Therefore, it seems to me that efficient agro-industrial enterprises must be created on a joint-stock basis, yet a controlling block of shares must be transferred to the government of the republic.

[Amiredzhibi] Does it not seem to you that if this stringent policy is further pursued, the government will continue to play a decisive role in the agro-industrial complex and we may arrive at the situation from which we are trying to escape?

[Tsalkalamanidze] Much depends on how things are going to be run in practice. For example, in Taiwan, the state owns 70 percent of the land. This does not in any way interfere with the efficiency of agriculture. Well, let us suppose that we have handed out all land to private owners. What will we get in some 30 years? The size of the population is of variable magnitude—it grows, whereas the territory of Georgia does not. If today or tomorrow the land is divided among private owners, what will remain for future farmers? We do not have much land available, and this must not be forgotten.

[Amiredzhibi] What will the place of the farmer in this system be?

[Tsalkalamanidze] The leaseholding farmer must become a central figure. If he works well, he will become richer. The law must reliably protect the fruits of his labor. Believe me, the regulation according to which the farmer will not be able to sell the plot of land allocated to him, or will not be able to leave it unused is in conformity with the vital interests of the entire population of Georgia.

[Amiredzhibi] Thus, market relations will be established and tough competition between independent producers will start, in short, precisely these conditions will ensure the efficient performance of joint enterprises. What is the role of foreign firms in this process?

[Tsalkalamanidze] People in the West know quite well what the struggle between competitors is all about. In order to win, one has to act fast and to propose the most modern and advanced methods. Naturally, foreign firms will promote enhanced modernization of the machinery, technology, and output. The joint-stock and private form of ownership will also prevail in the material and technical supply services, in construction, and in transport. On the whole, a stimulated economic system will take shape. All of this will be in the interests of the consumer and of Georgia as a whole.

The attraction of foreign investments is a real road toward the rebirth of our ailing economy. It is not accidental that Z. Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia, has clearly specified the position of the leadership in this direction: He emphasized at a recent session of the Supreme Council that "Foreign partners will get an opportunity to act in our market, invest their capital, take production facilities on lease, create their own enterprises, branches, and so on." Tomorrow's prosperity for Georgian people depends on such a genuine nationally-oriented approach.

General Discusses Anti-Army Campaign

LD2507205891 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi July 25 TASS—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia sent a letter to General Valeriy Patrikeyev, the Transcaucasian Military District troops commander, in connection with the incidents involving servicemen and civilians that took place in Sukhumi and Tbilisi on July 20 and 21.

In that document servicemen are accused of creating conditions for provoking inhuman actions.

In the reply letter, Patrikeyev states that the district military prosecutor's office, jointly with territorial law enforcement bodies, is thoroughly investigating the incidents.

The military and civilian public prosecutor's offices established that the incident in Sukhumi was caused by the attempt of civilians to rape a serviceman's wife.

Patrikeyev emphasised that using unproven information, the republican media help form public opinion in the framework of the anti-army campaign going on in Georgia. This has led to more conflicts between Georgian citizens and servicemen.

Servicemen and their families are the target of a moral terror. Disorderly youngsters set on fire a military car in the centre of Tbilisi, at Rustaveli Boulevard on July 23.

Abkhaz Leadership Rejects Election Fraud Charges

PM2507155791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Union Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Abkhazia's Leadership Rejects Accusations"]

[Text] The Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has asked N. Trubin, USSR prosecutor general, to adopt measures to end the illegal criminal prosecution of Enver Kapba, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers.

A resolution adopted by the presidium in this connection states that the criminal proceedings were instituted against E. Kapba by V. Razmadze, prosecutor general of

the Republic of Georgia, for allegedly having abused and deliberately exceeded his authority as chairman of the Abkhaz ASSR's Central Electoral Commission during the USSR referendum. In V. Razmadze's opinion, this resulted in the falsification of the referendum's results in Abkhazia. However, the Abkhaz ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deems all the arguments of the Georgian prosecutor general to be unfounded. V. Razmadze's actions are interpreted as pursuing political rather than law enforcement aims in an effort to discredit one of the leaders of the autonomous republics and to destabilize the situation in Abkhazia.

A statement by the Abkhaz ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers Presidium, attached to the letter, notes that the USSR Prosecutor's Office, which is in possession of all the referendum materials, has already concluded that there were no criminal violations during the USSR referendum in Abkhazia. At the same time the Georgian Prosecutor's Office, which presently still falls under the supervision of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, without having access to the materials of the referendum, is claiming that its results have been falsified without substantiating this claim and has pronounced E. Kapba guilty of a crime without having carried out an investigation.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan on Novo-Ogarevo Talks on NKAO

LD2507160291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Speaking today at a sitting of the Armenian parliament Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Supreme Soviet chairman, said that on Tuesday he was in Novo-Ogarevo to raise the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh. This was reported by the SNARK agency. Participants in the meeting were shown a package of acts adopted recently under the Armenian leadership. They aim at finding compromise solutions to the problem through talks and dialogue. Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that the Armenian leadership's position is supported by Russian President Boris Yeltsin who called on Gorbachev to act as mediator in talks between the two republics.

The Armenian parliament head also said that halting the so-called passport regime checks in Nagorno-Karabakh and Shaumyanovskiy Rayon should be a condition for starting a dialogue since every time such operations turn into a forced deportation of residents of Armenian villages. The Azerbaijan president said that yesterday evening he received an order from Moscow to stop passport regime checks. He stressed that these operations are being carried out not by the Azerbaijan OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] but by the 23d division of the Fourth Army. In his turn, the Minister of Defense gave assurance that the military has been ordered to return to their stationing sites. However, the battles near Armenian villages in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon yesterday showed that the military has not stopped combat operations. It seems an obscure political game is under way, Ter-Petrosyan concluded.

Armenian-Azerbaijan Border Clashes Continue

Verishen Attacked 24 Jul

LD2507165591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Excerpts] The situation on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border is increasingly tense. Yesterday we reported on the news conference by Vardan Oganesyan, an Armenian Television journalist, released a week ago from the Gyandzha prison of the Azerbaijan OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment]. [passage omitted]

Vardan Oganesyan stated yesterday that, in his view, there is an impression that a war between the USSR and Armenia is under way. The deportation from Nagorno-Karabakh villages unfolds in accordance with the same scenario, Vardan Oganesyan and Bulgarian journalist Tsvetana Paskaleva said. They had just returned from Nagorno-Karabakh. First, military helicopters would overfly the village, and artillery shelling would continue for several days. Then OMON detachments would enter the village and robbery, pillaging, and killings followed. Tsvetana Paskaleva said that one simply cannot describe militiamen [opolchentsy] who defend their own homes with primitive weapons as guerrillas. She said that she video recorded the so-called peaceful deportation of Armenian residents from a village and intends to present this material to the world.

Meanwhile, the SNARK agency has just reported that in the last two days military helicopters have been firing on the village of Verishen. Women and children are being evacuated from the village which is surrounded. Kirill Alekseyskiy, member of the Russian intelligentsia committee Karabakh, reported the following by telephone. On 24 July, at around 2100, artillery shelling of the ouskirts of the village of Verishen started to destroy the waterpipe supplying water to the village of Armyanskiye Borisy. A bloody check of passports a La Mutalibov is looming, that is, the deportation of Armenians from Verishen. Russia's deputies and the correspondent are running the risk of taking part in a bloody drama. In self-defense the village will have to burn Soviet armored machinery with Molotov cocktails. As well as peaceful civilians, Russian soldiers will also be killed. Speaking at a briefing yesterday evening Ashot Manucharyan, Armenian minister of internal affairs, said that the village of Verishen is surrounded by 15 APCs and that one house was destroyed by shelling. The residents, who took defensive positions, managed to damage five of the combat helicopters which were firing on the village.

Karyun Khumaryan, our correspondent in Yerevan, has just reported by telephone that late on 24 July Anatoliy (Shabad), Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's Deputy, sent a telegram to Boris Yeltsin, Russian President. Another act of genocide is about to be committed, the telegram says. All day today combat

helicopters, howitzers, heavy machine guns, infantry fighting vehicles, APCs, and troops of the 4th combined-arms army of the Soviet Armed Forces have been firing on the outskirts and houses of the Armenian village of Verishen. Three shells exploded in the village. The 6,000 strong population of the village plus refugees from neighboring villages which were subjected to deportations earlier are starting to flee their homes in terror. The armored machinery and infantry have been amassed on the surrounding hills and are ready to attack. Losses among servicemen are inevitable as in every deportation procedure.

Inhabitants Preparing for Action

LD2507170391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By correspondent Karyun Khumaryan in Yerevan]

[Text] In this brief news bulletin I must once again return to the Armenian-Azeri problem. Just a moment ago Karyun Khumaryan, our Yerevan correspondent, reported the following by telephone. At 0600 this morning an urgent message was received in Yerevan from Kirill Alekseyskiy, member of the Russian intelligentsia committee Karabakh. The artillery patrol's fire makes it impossible to take the decapitated body of 90-year old Khachatur Lalayan out of the deported village of Erkech. The head of Roza Lalayan was buried last week.

Last night the 23d Kirovobad Division was concentrating on hills, allegedly for a training exercise. Defenders of Verishen are getting ready for action. The defenders of the village are armed only with old weapons. Who needs a bloody clash between Russian troops and the Soviet people? Nobody can answer this question here but they prefer to die in battle rather than be taken prisoner by OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment].

Yet another report came from Kirill Alekseyskiy at 0900 this morning. It says: Please note the losses of armored machinery which have not been made public until now. The self-sacrifice of Erkech residents, a joint self-defense force, made it possible, by using primitive weapons, to burn down three armored vehicles and a helicopter of the bandit 23d Division in July. The expected storming of Verishen will result in new losses, since not all will manage to get out of burning vehicles. Russians should be aware that the brigandage in Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and adjacent Armenian regions means that it is not safe even after Armenia is fully disarmed. Protecting their homes, life, honor, wives, daughters, and mothers, Armenians have to be brave and cannot always tell Russian brothers in Christ from OMON servicemen who are predominantly Azeris. For the time being the 6,000 strong population of Verishen is continuing to flee along the road to Shaumyan, which is still open, on foot, leaving all their possessions to the accursed invaders.

Villagers 'Terrorized'

OW2607062091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The situation in the Geranboyskiy region (the former Shaumyanovskiy region) is growing more tense. The eviction of the Armenian residents from one of the largest Armenian villages of the region, the village of Verishen, is under preparation. The Russian People's deputy Anatoliy Shabad who is in the region of conflict now informed our correspondent about it.

According to his words, the village is blockaded by the Soviet Army troops and the Azerbaijan OMON [special purpose militia detachment]. Verishen was fired on from artillery guns and helicopters on Wednesday all day long. The residents are running away from Verishen to Shaumyanovsk.

In his cable to the Russian President Boris Yeltsin A. Shabad in particular said: "Six thousand residents of the village and refugees from earlier evicted Armenian villages who are in Verishen now are terrorized and they are running away from their homes. Armoured vehicles and infantry are concentrated on the main altitudes and ready to attack. Victims among the military men always following such evictions are inevitable, I beg you to do anything [no end punctuation as received]

Azerbaijan

Armenian Attack in Lachinskiy Rayon Reported

NC2607085291 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0440 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] As everyone knows, some measure of progress has been made toward resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] dispute. As an ever growing number of Armenian citizens call on that republic to end its interference in Azerbaijan's internal affairs, President Ayaz Mutalibov has held talks with a group of leading workers from the NKAO's Armenian community.

As soon as word of this meeting was made public, Armenia moved to escalate tension in the border rayons. Several Azerbaijani rayons were fired on from that republic, and a large group of armed Armenians dressed in militia uniforms crossed into Lachinskiy Rayon. The members of this group carried out a brutal attack on the summer grazing lands, killing nine people and wounding two (?militiamen) and a local resident. The attackers were repulsed.

President Mutalibov has informed the central authorities about the incident. Meanwhile, the Azerbaijan

Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent an appeal to the leaders of the supreme soviets of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the other independent republics.

The republic's newspapers carry an AZERINFORM report on the incident today.

Controversy Over Aliyev Resignation Noted

LD2507183891 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Baku July 25 TASS—Former Soviet Communist Party Politburo member Geydar Aliyev's decision to quit the party has prompted questions about his motives.

"Experience of the past few years shows that some individuals who previously led the party are quitting it not because of a change in their political orientation, but fearing responsibility for abusing privileges and creating an atmosphere of lawlessness and violence," the Azerbaijan Communist Party Control Commission said in a statement today.

While Aliyev was still in power in Azerbaijan and later, party and Soviet authorities received numerous complaints over his actions, the statement says.

The presidium of Azerbaijan Communist Party Control Commission reminds that a group of people's deputies demanded an investigation into abuses committed by the republican leadership in the 1970s at the last session of the republican parliament.

"New, stunning facts are being uncovered about injustices of the time, called 'Geydar Aliyev's period'," the statement said.

Measures To Implement Cooperation With Iran Set

LD2607083591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Azerbaijan's Cabinet of Ministers has worked out measures to implement the memorandum on trade and economic cooperation between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. The construction of hydroelectric facilities, the installation of transport communications, and the opening up of air routes connecting Baku with Tehran and Tabriz are among major joint projects.

People's Front Holds Congress, Avoids Split

PM2407155591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 91 p 1

[A. Mursaliyev report: "Azerbaijan People's Front Has Decided To Boycott Election"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] Congress, which took place in Baku 13 through 17 July, has ended. However, its conclusions are still tentative since the decisions that were adopted have to be ratified at the second stage of the congress, which is scheduled for the fall. Precisely 243 delegates and about 100 guests from various republics and countries attended the congress.

On this occasion they were successful in avoiding the danger of a split that menaced the front after one of its leaders, Etibar Mamedov, made a statement about the need to transform the movement from a people's to a national movement. He first made a speech containing this idea back in the fall of 1989, but the subsequent violent events of January 1990 and his arrest and almost 12-month incarceration in the Lefortovo Jail prevented his plans from being realized at the time. On this occasion, however, having made his statement, Etibar simply did not turn up at the congress. Abulfaz Aliyev was reelected chairman of the APF.

Among other things, the congress adopted a number of political resolutions and appeals, and also decided to boycott the presidential election in Azerbaijan, considering that a democratic expression of the people's will is impossible in the emergency conditions that still prevail.

Unlike the APF, the local social democrats will participate in the election. At a plenum of their Central Committee they nominated Zardushta Alizade, one of the front's founders and a member of its executive until the end of 1989, as their candidate for president of the republic. At the moment Zardushta's only rival is the current president, the Azerbaijan Communists' leader Ayaz Mutalibov.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Calls For Summit of Republic Leaders

LD2607125391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] The president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, has suggested a summit conference of the leaders of all the 15 constituent republics of the USSR. Delegates from nine republics have taken part in drafting a new treaty of the Union and are going to sign it. The others have either been hesitant or have declared their sovereignty and refusal to join a renewed federation.

The president of Kazakhstan believes the time has come to close political disputes. To start handling crucial problems together, including economic crises and the need to put an end to sanguinary interethnic conflict in various parts of the country.

Prime Minister Karamanov Meets With Petrovskiy

LD2507203191 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Karamanov, prime minister of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, has received Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who is staying in Alma-Ata. A broad range of topical questions was raised during their conversation concerning the new Union treaty, the role and place of the republics in the renewed Union of sovereign states, the transfer of the economy to market relations, and the training of staff through wide international cooperation.

Special attention was paid to tackling acute ecological problems, in particular the Aral Sea and the fate of the major nuclear test site near Semipalatinsk. Noting the resolute steps by Kazakhstan's leadership on the path to the market, Petrovskiy stressed that today the republic is in the focus of attention of the entire world community.

The USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs had meetings with the staff of the Kazakh Foreign Ministry and also with representatives of ministries, departments and public organizations in the field of foreign relations and of the mass media.

Nazarbayev Appoints Renamed News Agency Director

LD2507213691 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] Proceeding from the provisions of the declaration on state sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and in connection with the change in structure of the organs of state power and running of the republic, President Nazarbayev of the Kazakh SSR has decreed the transformation of the news agency under the Kazakh Council of Ministers into the KAZAKH STATE NEWS AGENCY. Musalimov has been appointed director of the KAZAKH STATE NEWS AGENCY.

Report on Ust-Kamenogorsk Pollution Problems

PM2507123991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by A. Laptev, identified by caption]

[Text] A socioecological examination in east Kazakhstan has shown that there are around 1 billion tonnes of toxic waste from metallurgical production in a radius of only 100 km here.

[Laptev] Literally every kind of disaster has befallen Ust-Kamenogorsk, the heart of the mining area of the Altay, where factory chimneys, you might say, tower directly over the populated areas. The city is even listed by the United Nations as one of the worst. Of course, heightened attention is fixed on it at the moment, resulting in all kinds of commissions, decisions, and resolutions; but, alas, at the moment that is as far as it goes. And the people who manufacture the metals, including precious metals, and their children, poisoned by toxic waste from the metallurgical processing, are still sick. And, as is well known, in the end sick people turn for assistance to doctors, and the best qualified of these are in the oblast hospital.

[B.Z. Reysh, oblast chief surgeon, identified by caption] There was an earthquake a year ago in east Kazakhstan. The hospital in Kurchum was destroyed. Many promises were made. At the moment projects are being drawn up everywhere, but as for the hospital, it is not being refurbished or reconstructed, and nothing is being restored. There have been beryllium emissions in the city. Major commissions at the level of various Union ministries have met, and so on. And so far, what has happened since the summer—and, incidentally, there has been no rain—is that the machines for washing the coal away from Ust-Kamenogorsk so that dust and other waste that settles on the ground is reduced and people do not have to inhale it have not been available either.

[Laptev] I would like to say that surgeon Reysh is a USSR people's deputy and he has repeatedly appealed for assistance to various bodies, including the highest. But there has been no intelligible response as yet.

Nazarbayev Signs Emergency Decree for Harvest

LD2607030491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0230 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, has signed a decree on emergency measures for the harvest period. This is connected with the unprecedented drought. An emergency commission, which has been entrusted with considerable powers, has been set up. Its decisions are binding on all ministries, departments, and enterprises.

Kyrgyzstan

Further on Yeltsin's Visit, Treaty Signing

PM2507142191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 91 Union Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Ryabushkin report: "Treaty Between Russia and Kyrgyzstan"]

[Text] Bishkek—A treaty on the basic principles of interstate relations between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Kyrgyzstan has been concluded here. It was signed by the two presidents—B. Yeltsin and A. Akayev.

This is the first visit by the Russian president and a high state delegation to the Union republic, and fundamentally new approaches to the problem of relations between sovereign states have been elaborated during the visit. These relations will be based on the principles and norms of international law.

The joint economic program for cooperation between the two republics is vast. Russia has granted Kyrgyzstan a loan of 800 million rubles to provide compensation payments to the population. For its part, Kyrgyzstan pledges to supply the RSFSR in 1991 with wool, cotton fiber, cured tobacco, woolen yarn, and other products at mutually agreed prices. It is planned to channel some of the funds into building a tobacco factory, which will allow Russia to save considerable amounts of foreign exchange on buying cigarettes.

In his brief speech B. Yeltsin noted that the document he had signed is not aimed against any third party. On the contrary, its positive importance transcends the bounds of bilateral relations. The strengthening of ties between Kyrgyzstan and Russia is also important for the strengthening of the renewed Union as a whole, and for synchronizing the processes of transformation in the country—above all, in the economic sphere.

A. Akayev said: Certain forces that are quite reactionary have been accusing us of destroying the Union. This is wrong—we are in favor of the Union and are doing everything to renew it.

A press conference was held, as was a rally of the inhabitants of Bishkek. The heads of state reaffirmed that the treaty is of great importance for strengthening guarantees of human rights and freedoms. Each side pledged to guarantee these rights. Russia pledged to guarantee the rights of the Kyrgyz population in the RSFSR, and Kyrgyzstan pledged to guarantee the rights of Russians living in the republic. Moscow and Bishkek have decided to open full missions.

Touching on the democratic reforms taking place in the country, B. Yeltsin and A. Akayev expressed firm support for this course. In their opinion, conservative forces no longer have any chance of reversing these processes.

Premier Discusses 'Extremely Grave' Economy

OW2607084891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the INTERFAX correspondent the Kyrgyz Prime Minister Nasirdin Isanov said the economic situation in the republic remains extremely grave with recession continuing.

In the first half of this year the production has fallen by 1.5 percent—in consumer goods by 4 percent, in housing construction by 30 percent, and the state purchases of livestock and poultry have dropped by 29 percent.

The weakest point of the republic's economy is its being tied down to producing primary commodities—explains the prime minister. Kyrgyzstan should gradually start producing manufactures. Its government is mounting programmes designated as "Leather," "Wool", "Tobacco" for developing those branches. The concrete results will be evident in two or three years.

Prime Minister Isanov takes a cautious position towards taking over USSR industries under Kyrgyz jurisdiction. Such enterprises make up 18 percent of all industry and account for 30 percent of manufactures. "It's not yet time to raise this issue from either political or economic point of view", he said.

Kyrgyzstan has no intention to acquire losing concerns with outdated technology, but on the other hand, large modern productions of electrotechnical equipment and instruments are so integrated in the Soviet Union that the republic can't cope with them.

National Unity Movement Organizes, Picks Leader

LD2607125291 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in Kyrgyz 1300 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The first organization session of participants in the recently announced democratic movement, National Unity, was held in Bishkek on 24 July. An organizational committee was elected for the movement. There are about 60 members from the most varied professions, nationalities, [word indistinct] positions, communists, and non-party members. (Sadambekov), people's deputy from the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, was unanimously elected chairman of the organizational committee for setting up the National Unity movement.

Uzbekistan

More Than 600,000 Reported Unemployed to Date

LD2507090191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] According to our Tashkent correspondent's dispatch, more than 600,000 unemployed have been registered in Uzbekistan to date. A new organization to provide welfare protection for them has been set up in the republic.